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The Week

THE preliminaries of the peace conference, so far as organization, procedure, and representation are concerned, appear to have been settled by Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States in secret conferences, and to have been accepted by the smaller states and near states with no important protest. The incident of great significance at the moment has been the vigorous protest of the American and British press representatives against the proposal to carry on the deliberations of the conference behind closed doors, and to give to the public only summary statements officially prepared. In spite of the protest, the published rules of procedure provide only for official communiqués. It is gratifying to learn that Mr. Wilson has stood strongly for open sessions and generous publicity of proceedings. The attitude of the French Government, on the other hand, which appears to object strongly to publicity even for its own press and still maintains a strict censorship, will, if persisted in, go a long way towards impairing regard for France, especially in this country. The suggestion of secrecy is the more objectionable because of the long list of territorial and other claims which have been brought forward in the past few weeks, and which in due time will come before the conference. France, which has already incorporated Alsace-Lorraine, wants the Saar Valley and a Rhine frontier, together with a recognition of its claims, embodied in secret agreements with Great Britain and Russia, in Asia Minor. Belgium desires additional territory and the recognition of its complete independence. The Jugoslavs have been two or three times on the verge of open rupture with Italy, a formidable demand for autonomy has been made in Catalonia, and the future status of Morocco is in question. Australia, which for some time has been insistent that the German colonies shall not be handed back to Germany, is also greatly disturbed at the pretensions of Japan, which is frankly asking for Kiaochow, the Caroline and Marshall Islands, and control of certain Pacific cables. Over all looms the question of Russia, in regard to whose recognition the Powers are still debating. With such wide-reaching conflicts of national interest, the only safety is in open diplomacy.

NOW that the sessions of the peace conference have at last begun, it is worth while to recall what has been going on, in the more than two months which have elapsed since the declaration of the armistice, by way of preparation for the Paris deliberations. The armistice itself has been extended, with the further imposition of drastic terms which Germany must meet. It cannot be too insistently pointed out that the armistice is only in part an armistice at all, for the larger number of its provisions comprise in reality preliminary terms of peace in the form of heavy indemnities, the destruction of Germany's naval power, and the severe reduction of its military resources. The manifest suffering from lack of food in Germany and Austria has caused a partial lifting of the embargo, and small supplies of food are now going forward, a considerable part of the German mercantile marine being levied upon for the transport of these supplies. The naval vessels which Germany was forced to surrender have been divided among the Allies. Mr. Wilson's visit to England is reported to have resulted in an essential agreement between him and Mr. Lloyd George regarding the position which each will take at the peace conference; but the subject-matter of the conversations has not been divulged, and there is no reason to believe that the question of the freedom of the seas is any less a matter of controversy than it has been since Mr. Wilson first raised it. Premier Clemenceau's outspoken declaration in favor of the time-honored system of alliances and balance of power has, however, served to give notice that Great Britain and the United States are not the only parties to the settlement. Mr. Wilson's visit to Italy was attended with as great popular demonstrations as greeted him in France and England. The attitude of the President toward the territorial pretensions of Italy under the secret Treaty of London, on the other hand, is reported to have been only in part favorable, and since his return to Paris the Orlando Ministry, in which sharp differences of opinion on this and other issues have for some time prevailed, has resigned.

ONE of the sorest spots in a world still full of wounds is the sea-port town of Fiume. Out of all proportion to its size or general importance Fiume has managed to centre upon itself the troubled attention of the diplomats of the world. Apparently both sides to the Italian-Jugoslav dispute have agreed to make this particular city the point of most determined opposition, and daily the dispute grows more intense. At the moment, through a recent shake-up, the Italian Cabinet is in the hands of the most complete irreconcilables, pledged to all the extreme Italian amendments to the Treaty of London. The Jugoslavs show an equal determination to attain their "ancient rights." Meanwhile the peace conference meets, in ostensible amity and agreement over fundamental questions. But President Wilson, at least, and any other delegates who interest themselves in justice and the hope of a peaceful future, must be keeping at least one eye on Fiume and the shores of the Adriatic. One of the fairest proposals for settlement so far made by an interested party appears in a memorandum recently issued by the Jugoslav Socialist party, which demands "the constitution of an international committee in which the two countries shall be represented, and which shall be commissioned conscientiously to determine the national frontier between Jugoslavia and Italy. Such national minorities as will be compelled to remain on either side must receive the benefit of protective legislation."

THE most recent notable phase of Allied non-interference in Russia is the agreement, reported to have been "reached in Tokio," to establish an Inter-Allied committee to supervise and operate the Trans-Siberian Railway, including the Chinese Eastern branch. The committee will, it is said, be headed by a Russian "presumably selected

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by the Kolchak Government at Omsk," and will include one representative each of China, Japan, the United States, France, Great Britain, and Italy. Under this main supervisory committee will be a military board and a technical board, the latter probably under the direction of John F. Stevens. This agreement appears to have ended the months of negotiations and rumored jealousies which have held up the work of Mr. Stevens and his associates. The alarm of Japan over the danger of an extension of American influence in Siberia has apparently been somehow allayed. Apparently, too, the Allies have decided to enter into a working agreement with the Kolchak dictatorship that amounts to little less than recognition; and Mr. Stevens has been given the title of Minister. If Senator Johnson has time we would suggest that he propound one more question to the Senate: To what state or Government has Mr. Stevens been appointed Minister?

IT is reported that Admiral Jellicoe will shortly visit Canada for the purpose of conferring with the Dominion Government in regard to plans for a Canadian navy. The idea of a Canadian navy is not new, although earlier movements in that direction, which had not, however, gone beyond the stage of discussion, were laid aside upon the outbreak of war. Now that the war is presumably over, at least so far as the Central Powers are concerned, the project has been revived. Those who advocate a navy for the Dominion do so upon several grounds. The Victoria *Daily Colonist*, for example, points out quite frankly that Great Britain must continue to police the seas, and that a part of this duty—the policing of the Pacific, for example—ought to be undertaken by Canada as a contribution to the welfare of the Empire as a whole. Such assumption of responsibility for the Pacific presupposes, however, that Great Britain will continue to guard the Atlantic coast of the Dominion. Here, evidently, is a Canadian reaction to the general discussion of freedom of the seas and of the bearing of such freedom, whatever it may be, upon Great Britain's supremacy as a naval power. There is the further argument that Canada, having been awakened by the war to the importance of a merchant marine, will henceforth need a navy to aid in the protection of its shipping and its commerce. How the people of Canada are likely to view the suggestion is not yet apparent. Recalling, however, the bitter controversy over conscription, the heavy losses in man-power which the Dominion has sustained, the burden of the war debt, and the widespread labor disturbances with which the Borden Government has shown so little skill in dealing, one may suspect that Admiral Jellicoe's programme, unless it is an extremely modest one, will meet with a good deal of opposition. The one thing, apparently, that would be likely to convert Canada to navalism is the adoption by the United States of such a huge scheme of navy building as Secretary Daniels has proposed. If British naval supremacy has to meet that menace, Canada will undoubtedly help.

WHEN the Negro went so willingly to war for the United States, he of course had faith that a new attitude of justice toward him might result. The Negro fighting in Europe was not simply fighting Germans, but was fighting indirectly for his privileges at home in America. With what result? According to the records of the Tuskegee Institute there were sixty-two lynchings in 1918—twenty-four more than in 1917. The figure includes the lynching of two so-called disloyal whites. The State of Georgia again carries the banner of shame, leading all other States with eighteen lynchings; Texas is next with nine. and one a child under sixteen who was pregnant. So the story continues. But whereas stories of German and Russian brutalities, often wholly unsubstantiated, capture long columns in the press, our own real and terrible transgressions are crowded toward back pages into as narrow space as possible, if indeed the bloody tale is told at all. We call attention once more to the facts, not to reproach any section of the country, but to remind our readers how serious is the task of building up a genuine civilization here at home.

THE existence of some tribunal through which the public can exact an accounting of the facts in labor disputes adds to the sum of knowledge, but apparently does little to placate bitter feeling between employers and employees. Opposing forces become aligned more and more in open fight and the arbitrating body requires increasing stimulus to keep it alive. The War Labor Board seems now to be in an enfeebled condition. President Wilson was obliged to call on the War and Navy Departments, the Shipping Board, and the Railway Administration to strengthen the position of the War Labor Board in the case of the recent New York city harbor strike. The Secretary of the Navy is pressing acceptance of the Board's award on the Bethlehem Steel Company, and Chairman Taft desperately "yearns for judicial power to compel compliance." In Bethlehem, the defiance of the employers is more than likely to be effective; for the workers are only beginning to strengthen their organization. In the case of the harbor strike, however, the economic power of the workers was only too evident. With increasing bitterness, cries of "Bolshevik, Bolshevik," heard from both sides, are coming to outnumber accusations of pro-Germanism. Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, testifying before the House Immigration Committee, named the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Postmaster General Burleson, and the Northwestern timber interests as typical employers responsible for the growth of Bolshevism. Basil M. Manly, co-chairman with William Howard Taft of the War Labor Board, has made a more serious charge. In a recent Washington address he is reported to have said that in many cases of alleged disorderly conduct and sabotage of the I. W. W., which were reported to the Board, it was found that the employers had deliberately hired operatives from detective and strike-breaking agencies to go among the men and preach Bolshevism in order to discredit organized labor and make it difficult for the Government to carry out its labor policies. He is quoted as saying: "No legislation that I can think of will correct it, but I want to warn these employers that they are driving labor to a condition where, finding itself forced, it will use means other than law and order to destroy its enemies." Compulsory arbitration, though able sometimes to survive over a short period, seems eventually to fail, as in Canada, in the garment trades of New York, and in our own national experiment. Yet some tribunal before which the facts can be reviewed ought for the enlightenment of the public to be retained.

NOT many weeks after King George formally pronounced the end of war-time abstinence and economy in England by raising to his lips a glass of champagne, the United States performed the more startling gesture of declaring itself bone-dry. Nebraska, acting on January 16,

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was the thirty-sixth State to ratify a constitutional amendment prohibiting "the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes." The amendment takes effect one year from the date of its ratification by the necessary three-fourths of the States. The impetus which the struggle for prohibition has gathered during years of agitation carried through the final ratification with a speed that has left the country gasping. It would appear, however, that the fight is not over. The opposition, according to newspaper reports, plans a legal fight over the constitutionality of the amendment and the form of its ratification. Even the warmest adherents of the new article must certainly be prepared for some difficulties in its interpretation and enforcement. Particularly puzzling is the wording of Section 2, providing that "the Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." The more one thinks of it, the more confusing appear the implications and possibilities of this section. The Supreme Court will doubtless have an opportunity to shed some light upon the darkness of this as well as other provisions of the amendment.

THE Delaware State Council of Defense has issued a pamphlet on Americanization. What is its key-note? "Americanization is above all else a coöperative activity; impose it upon the foreigner and he will repudiate it; plan it with him and he will carry his share of the load." Taking into account the subject, the place, and the agency this pamphlet is an encouraging symptom. The entire document, prepared by Esther Everett Lape, is, indeed, excellent, but the "Service Citizens of Delaware" or whatever other body inherits the work from the State Council of Defense is likely to find it none too easy to carry out the programme in a State heretofore so apathetic that it has not a single public educational facility for the adult immigrant. The programme, which would be as applicable elsewhere as in Delaware, proposes a survey, training for teachers in the special art of teaching foreign-speaking adults, factory classes, the designation, among the chief executives of each business, of one to make Americanization his special affair, night schools, State aid, a special State supervisor, and compulsory attendance of non-English-speaking persons, minors and others. Such compulsory requirements laid upon wage-earners need, be it said, the greatest care in framing and enforcement in order to avoid creating real hardship. "Americanization," unfortunate as the term may be for the highly necessary work of opening up the spiritual resources of the country to newcomers, will cease to awaken, as at present, a jealous sense of distrust if we come to recognize as reasonable and proper the fact that "the foreign-born groups do not wish to have the native-born impose classes upon them. They wish to have a voice in the organization of the work. They know their own needs."

HUNTERS of the Mississippi Valley States were preparing to shoot ducks in flight this spring, we were told, because of the recent dismissal, on motion of the Federal authorities, of a case in the United States Supreme Court under the Migratory Bird Law of 1913. The hunters' argument was again the specious one of State's rights, which has successfully prevented the United States from protecting her children, but which despite this dismissal failed in this instance to prevent her from protecting her birds. For on July 3, 1918, there went into effect a "Treaty Act" between the United States and Canada whereby the two countries mutually agreed upon conservation plans. The Interstate Sportsmen's Protective Association, it is expected, will test the constitutionality of this act also. In the meantime, however, bird lovers, farmers, and the Audubon Societies have largely won their crusade. On the Pacific Coast is a bird paradise made possible by Government restraint on the wanton cruelty of men. There the cerulean warbler, bluebird, white-throated sparrow, goldfinch, oriole, cardinal, wren, redstart, bird of paradise, the ducks and geese, sea-gulls, swans, cranes, and pelicans by the thousands chatter and sing. The report of the executive head of the National Association of Audubon Societies shows our growing interest in the preservation of our birds. One hundred and fifty thousand boys and girls were enrolled in the society this year. The society has also demonstrated the importance of scientific investigation as a weapon against measures based on prejudice. For instance, complaints came from the South that the brown pelican was destroying valuable food fishes, and this complaint was accompanied by pleas for the extermination of the pelican. The scientist of the association, who visited all pelican colonies between Mexico and Key West, found that the brown pelican feeds almost exclusively upon fishes which not only are not eaten by man, but which are destructive of edible varieties. Its preservation, therefore, is now known to be in the interest of food conservation. At another time sea-gulls were supposed to be despoiling sheep-ranges along the eastern coast; as a matter of fact, they were found to be improving the range by destroying only certain noxious plants. These are not the first instances in which investigation has shown that supposedly injurious birds are sometimes useful to man.

THE opening of the new School of Social Research, the first of whose lecture courses begins on February 10, is a matter of no little educational interest. Uninformed comment on this unique enterprise has laid undue stress on its peculiarities of organization, which, so it was said, were to make it a "free" university, as opposed to our present capitalistically or politically controlled institutions. Persons acquainted with the purposes and plans of the projectors, however, have realized from the first that its spirit was to be one, not of protest against existing institutions, but of free and fearless inquiry into social affairs and of courageous experimentation with educational methods. It is as an educational experiment, indeed, that the school has perhaps its chief interest and value. However skeptical one may be of its success, no one interested in the improvement of American educational methods can do other than examine its plans sympathetically. To see a body of competent scholars deliberately setting about the task of creating the best conditions they know how to establish for an enterprise of coöperative learning on the part of capable adult students is in itself encouraging at a time when the tendency in higher education is too largely toward conformity and authoritarianism. To see them planning to centre their activities on the great problems of social reconstruction is additional cause for encouragement. We shall at least learn from their work something of the possibilities and the limitations of intelligent innovation in methods of teaching and learning in the social sciences.

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Russia in a New Rôle

IT is reported that the United States and the Allies are considering the dispatch of a commission to Russia, ostensibly for the purpose of obtaining reliable information upon which the peace conference may base its action. Two of the members suggested are widely known as friends of the Soviet Government. Now it is inconceivable that the Governments concerned do not know already all that they need to know about Russia in order to make up their minds. A very large amount of authentic information regarding that country has for a long time been available. In addition to the confidential data which Government agents have gathered, there is a large volume of printed material of great importance. The Russian official documents, selections from which have been published by the *Nation*, the *Dial*, and other journals, are very numerous; and there are also the Russian newspapers, significant extracts from which have for months been regularly published by the British War Office. The French Embassy in Russia has to its credit a long list of bulletins, covering the revolutionary period, prepared for the information of the French Foreign Office. In addition, a number of very important collections of Russian material, the property of Americans who have returned from Russia, have been confiscated by agents of the American Government and held for months, obviously with full opportunity for detailed examination. If a commission is now to be sent to Russia to ascertain the facts about that country and its people, it is far less because the Allied and American Governments do not know the facts than because they have refused to act in accordance with them, and now need a commission to camouflage their guilt.

The suggestion of such a commission, however, is strikingly significant of the new turn which the Russian situation has taken. The plain fact of the matter, apparently, is that the United States and the Allies need Russia, and that they need it even more than Russia needs them. They are very anxious to have Russia seated with them at the peace table, and to give it some kind of a share in the proceedings. Having treated Russia with aloofness and contempt for a year and more, they now very much want her back in the family of nations. Having misrepresented that country, and lied about it, and clapped the censorship upon it, and persecuted a considerable number of individuals and news journals which were trying to tell the public the truth about it, they are now, it would seem, desirous of "learning the facts" and "getting an unbiassed opinion" in order to set the whole business right. That they are really a good deal concerned about the Russian situation is further evidenced—quite convincingly, one would think—by the reports that the troops which were sent into Russia to put an end to German influence, extricate the hybrid forces of the Czecho-Slovaks, and relieve the Russian people from the oppression of the Soviet Government and the Bolshevist party, are now to be withdrawn.

The immediate incitement to this change of heart is, no doubt, the ominous spread of the world-wide movement labelled Bolshevism. We pointed out last week, in an editorial on that subject, that so-called Bolshevism owes but a part of its inspiration to the Russian Bolsheviki, and that the movement itself is in reality an extraordinary and violent outbreaking of the long-time demand of the masses everywhere for better living conditions, and for an economic system and a form of government which the workers shall control. The main incitement, however, is not Bolshevism, but Russia itself. Hateful as the results of the Russian revolution have been to upholders of class control in Western Europe and the United States, the obvious fact is that the new Russia, in spite of the enormous difficulties with which it has had to contend at home and abroad, has nevertheless succeeded in holding its ground. This stubborn fact the Allies, apparently, have begun to realize. In spite of their repeated insistence that there was nothing to take hold of in Russia, and that the people of that benighted country would be only too glad to welcome a deliverer, they seem at last to have perceived that Russia is a weighty factor in world politics, and that there will be no world peace unless Russia is made a part of it. Russia, in other words, is conquering a place for herself and her peculiar institutions; and the dark shadow of a Russianized Germany, with the German and Russian peoples united in spirit, if not in terms, to resist the Allies and spread their own ideas throughout the world, obscures for the moment all other issues before the peace conference. Only superficial reading of the daily press is needed to show that it is not Russia which is proclaiming its anxiety to have the world think well of it, or which is seeking eagerly for recognition at Paris. It is the Allies and the United States that are anxiously seeking a way to make their peace with Russia.

Recognition of some sort there will of course eventually be, and whether or not it follows upon the favorable report of a commission or is due to some other impetus will not greatly matter. The sobering reflection, however, is that the future relations between Russia and the other Powers will be influenced far more by what has preceded recognition than by recognition itself. The needs of Russia are admittedly very great. In the organization of its novel political system, as well as in the development of all the varied branches of its economic and social life, it has still a long distance to travel before the conditions of an orderly and enlightened civilization shall have been generally attained. The legitimate opportunities for trade with other countries, and for the intellectual interchange which alone can keep a people from becoming provincial, are boundless so far as Russia is concerned. What Russia is likely most to remember, however, and to cherish with deepest resentment, is that in the time of its greatest trial it received no help. In its tragic struggle to realize the democracy to which the statesmen of the western world did obeisance, and to apply the self-determination which the peoples everywhere acclaimed, it met from other nations only ridicule, denunciation, and invasion. These are the things, and not an eleventh-hour recognition grudgingly accorded, that are likely to bulk largest in the Russian memory.

One cannot but wonder that the United States, with its instinctive sympathy for free peoples and with the lofty sentiments of President Wilson ringing in its ears, should have been so willing an agent in this great calamity. One wonders, too, how long the peace will stand with Russia in this mood. A league of nations may or may not come out of the deliberations at Paris; the old idea of balances and alliances may be repudiated or may prevail. What is necessary, however, if peace is to endure, is that the free peoples of the world shall work together in comradeship, organizing their national lives, to be sure, in such manner as they shall severally prefer, but holding always to mutual esteem for the benefit of the common good. For the attainment of such an international mind the treatment of Russia has been indeed a sorry preparation.

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Waiting for the President

IT is seven weeks since President Wilson set sail for the peace conference, and the Government of the United States appears to be employing his absence as a period of hibernation. True, the Congress continues to function after a fashion; some slow progress is being made with the revenue bill, and for the rest, a certain amount of perfunctory investigation and speech-making goes on. The Supreme Court, of course, holds the even tenor of its way, but the Executive Departments to a large extent are marking time. The War and Navy Departments are scrapping the war machine, and the Department of Justice is still pursuing luckless dissentients under the Espionage Act, though the Attorney-General finds time to warn business men that in good time he purposes again to get around to the older activity of making prosecutions under the Anti-Trust Law. Generally speaking, the Departments are busy performing routine work, or else are engaged in freeing themselves from duties imposed by the war. Despite the commendable activity of some officials, there is no evidence anywhere of a comprehensive and thoughtful plan for meeting the problems that loom so large before us. Like the Congress, the Departments appear to be waiting for the President.

We are not disposed to be captious or to expect impossibilities, but we confess to no small degree of impatience with this waiting attitude. After all, the business of a Government is to govern, and a Government that depends on one man is in a bad way. Moreover, to govern in these days does not mean simply to suppress violence and disorder, but to assume leadership in formulating positive policies for getting done the things that need to be done. Any Government worth the name in this country has got to come forward with concrete and workable schemes for the demobilization of the army and its reabsorption into industry; for the economical raising of the revenue and handling of the debt; for the control and operation of the railways and the merchant marine in the public interest; for the development of a real labor policy, dealing not only with wages, hours, and conditions of work, but with security and continuity of employment and pay, with adequate education of all the people, with migration and placement of laborers, and with the provision of fitting economic opportunity for all workers; for adequate production and economical distribution of food and the essential materials of industry; for such control of public utilities and the great basic industries as shall make them all in the best sense public service industries; and for the control of finance in the interest of industry, and not of industry in the interest of finance. Despite current criticism of the term "industrial democracy," we have no hesitation in saying that the immediate and pressing task of Government in this country is to formulate definite policies that shall help us move with all speed in that direction. We have waited vainly for evidence of any intention on the part of our present Government to perform that task; its Republican critics long ago demonstrated their inability to understand even that such a task exists.

Instead of performance, we have a helpless waiting until the President shall have leisure enough from the affairs of the world to settle those of the United States. This is pure pusillanimity. While the war lasted, people were encouraged to trust the Presidential incantations to make everything right, and even to-day a waving of the magisterial wand brings a temporary settlement of New York's harbor strike; yet the November election shattered the dogma of Presidential infallibility, and to-day every intelligent man knows that the return of the President to our shores is going to contribute little except a few graceful phrases to the solution of the grave domestic problems that vex us. On the eve of his sailing he frankly told us that he did not know what to do with the railways, and with no less amazing candor he declined to send any message to the business men assembled at Atlantic City, because he did not know what to say. We recall these facts, not in order to criticize the President, but in order to remind Congress that it cannot shirk its responsibility by hiding behind him. It is the business of the Congress to shape definite policies of reconstruction and to create whatever agencies are required to carry them out.

A comparison of our situation with that of Great Britain is not flattering to American pride. The outline of the British reconstruction scheme which we publish on another page, whatever its defects, shows the results of an attempt to think out and work out a comprehensive plan for meeting a great national emergency. One feature after another of the situation Dr. Addison takes up, to state in each case what the Government has done and what it proposes to do. The action may not always be adequate, but at any rate there is the realization of a complex and puzzling situation to be met by intelligent common action, there is a policy for meeting it, and there is a responsible Government that is pushing forward that policy and proposing to stand or fall by the results. There has even been conducted an actual dress rehearsal of demobilization, including every step from the taking of the men out of the trenches to the placing of them in their homes in Great Britain.

By contrast, we have a good deal of thought, plenty of talk, and some not unintelligent formulation of problems and programmes—as witness various of the platforms being put forward by the new Labor parties springing up all over the country. But nobody is doing anything to translate thought and talk into action. Washington seems to be pursuing nothing more definite than a policy of scuttle, so far as any policy at all can be discerned. The Departments put forth more or less isolated recommendations, which the Congress proceeds to disregard, substituting nothing else for them, and landing us in chaos. Patiently and dumbly we await the President's return from France, hoping that in some mysterious way it is going to put an end to our troubles. Meanwhile our demobilization problem grows more serious, our labor situation takes on an uglier aspect, our transportation and shipping question becomes more imminent, and every one of the great problems previously enumerated presses more insistently for solution. It is time for the Congress to act, putting an end to its lazy dependence on the President, who seems to be somewhat more than fully occupied with our foreign affairs. But more than that, it is time for the American people to cease their unthinking worship of their form of government—in many ways one of the most ineffective and irresponsible under the sun—and to set themselves seriously to the task of rebuilding it in accordance with the teachings of the world's experience, so as to secure responsibility, efficiency, flexibility, and prompt adjustment to new conditions both present and to come.

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Language, Literature, or History?

IN this age of accurate measurements it seems strange that so great difference of opinion can persist in regard to the value of foreign language study in our schools. The volume on "The Value of the Classics," which came out of the conference held at Princeton University a year ago, may be accepted as the official defence of Latin and Greek. Of this volume a spokesman of the opposition can say, "If this is the best the classicists can do, they would seem to be in a precarious position." "The classicists are desperate." The divergence of judgment is abysmal; and Professor Shorey and ex-President Eliot are only brilliant representatives of large groups of well-informed, conscientious, and intellectual observers on either side.

Neither party has sufficiently isolated the elements of the problem. In the book referred to there is nowhere a classification of evidence either upon the objective basis of the materials of education or upon the subjective basis of the functions of mind or character affected. Three Presidents of the United States contribute directly to the volume. One emphasizes the importance of the genetic point of view acquired by intimate acquaintance with the history of our civilization; one dwells upon the fruitfulness in statesmanship of the qualities of character engendered by the perusal of classic literature; and one finds justification in the discipline of foreign language study. Does the active teacher of the classics, then, not know whether he is teaching primarily language, literature, or history? It is certainly time for definite purpose and clear thinking in classical education.

If the intellectual understanding of history is the chief purpose of such teaching, the classicists should devote their instruction to reading the sources in translation, and the time of the pupils should not be expended in learning the foreign tongues. Much that has been put forward in justification of the classics—the knowledge of art, architecture, politics, even philosophy—is not dependent upon the language for its transmission. On the other hand, if qualities of character are fertilized and nourished by the way things are said in ancient literature apart from what is said, then the classical curriculum should be the appreciative reading *in extenso* of the important literary monuments; the digest of a few pages is of no value as an end in itself. In no other respect does the classical teaching of the present day differ so greatly from that of previous generations as in the narrowness of the student's field of reading. But if, finally, there is a practical value in the mastery of the technique of language and if it can not be attained in a quicker way, then protracted study of the ancient tongues may perhaps rightly demand a place in the school curriculum.

Corresponding in general to the three sorts of objective material that have become blended in classical instruction are three functions or activities of the individual to be educated—the acquirement of knowledge, the training of emotions, and the formation of intellectual habits. Knowledge is best acquired through the medium of one's own language. The emotions are guided and strengthened not merely by impersonal facts, but in far larger measure by the personal qualities which appear in literature and which defy translation. Habits result from doing; the essential identity of the practice material and the medium of final expression appears to be indispensable. Therefore he who argues for habit-formation as an end must be in a position to demonstrate the psychological identity of the material of instruction and the field in which he expects the habit to function. Are the Latin and Greek professors prepared to substantiate their classroom activities in terms of the growth of the individuals who sit before them? In this day of insistent testing by results, they must be ready to meet such a demand. College and secondary teachers—teachers of language above all—have lagged far behind elementary school teachers in bringing modern psychology to bear upon the essential procedure of their professional life.

The *Nation* agrees with President Wilson when he says:

> We should have scant capital to trade on were we to throw away the wisdom we have inherited and seek our fortunes with the slender stock we ourselves have accumulated . . . You do not know the world until you know the men who have possessed it and tried its wares before you were ever given your brief run upon it. There is no sanity comparable with that which is schooled in the thoughts that will keep.

Therefore it calls upon the classical teachers to analyze and evaluate their own work. The war has given the final blow to some of the older educational prejudices and traditions; the classicists can no longer rely on a privileged position and an ancient tradition as sufficient reply to the restless questionings of those who insist on measured and verified results as the true basis of educational procedure. In order that the classics may maintain their proper place in our educational scheme, our teachers of Latin and Greek ought to give serious thought to meeting that test.

An Impressive Record

TO those interested in the practical functioning of political government, we recommend a perusal of the Attorney-General's report for the fiscal year 1918, just published. It shows a total of 988 prosecutions initiated under the Espionage Act, of which 492 cases were brought to a conclusion; 363 resulted in conviction and 57 in acquittal, the balance being quashed or discontinued. Under the Selective Draft Act 11,809 prosecutions were commenced and 10,027 terminated; 8,422 cases resulted in conviction and 400 in acquittal.

In the body of his report upon the Department's war activities Mr. Gregory states:

> [It has been] the view of this Department, consistently adhered to throughout the war, that every act of arbitrary and unnecessary interference with the life, habits, and occupation of the citizen would lessen efficiency, disturb order, and weaken public confidence in the American standards of justice. It has been the constant endeavor of this Department to frame all of its administrative policies in accordance with this fundamental view.

The notorious slacker raid in New York must perhaps be taken, then, as indicating no more than a slight failure in practical operation of these Administration policies. Further, Mr. Gregory observes with reference to the Espionage Act:

> It was proposed to incorporate a provision under which anti-war utterances or propaganda would not be punishable if made with good motives and for justifiable ends. The experience of this Department had shown that some of the most dangerous types of propaganda were either made from good motives or else that the traitorous motive was not provable. The Department realized that the proposed clause would in effect destroy the

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value of the Espionage Act as a weapon against progaganda, and upon its representations Congress enacted the statute without this proviso.

We are content to let this rather naïve assumption of responsibility stand for itself.

We pass to another interesting quotation:

May the subject of a neutral country be drafted into the military service when the treaty between his country and this country provides to the contrary? Our courts have unanimously held that the Selective Service Act supplants all previously existing conflicting treaty provisions on the subject.

What, we ask, is the moral quality of a nation's promise? We have heard of scraps of paper. Considering the unpopularity of the German Chancellor's remark about the treaty of 1839, we sorrowfully wonder at finding the United States courts in such company.

Mr. Gregory brings forward a large number of typical cases prosecuted under the Selective Service and Espionage Acts, giving a brief summary of their history. Some of them are well known; and in view of the constitutional rights of citizens, the comment upon them is interesting. Touching the Nearing case, for instance, Mr. Gregory says of the pamphlet called "The Great Madness":

[It] purported to describe the manner in which the big financial interests first conceived the scheme of creating a war which would instill patriotic emotions in the American people and thereby divert attention from the wrongs committed by the capitalists themselves, and then proceeded to carry their scheme into effect by bringing on the present war.

Of the Waldron case he says:

Waldron was a minister who urged upon parishioners of military age the doctrine that participation in the war was contrary to Christianity and that it was their duty as Christians not to render military service.

And of the Russellites:

They encouraged and organized on an extensive scale the raising of conscientious objections to the war by men called into the service. They did not restrict this to men who were conscientiously opposed to the war, but sought to create such objection in men who might otherwise be willing to render service to their country. This dangerous propaganda was scotched by the successful prosecution of the leaders before it succeeded in getting much headway.

Finally, we would call attention to Mr. Gregory's assertion:

The Department throughout the war has proceeded upon the general principle that the constitutional rights of free speech, free assembly, and petition exist in war time as in peace time, and that the right of discussion of governmental policy and the right of political agitation are most fundamental rights in a democracy. It has endeavored to adhere to the principle that neither the Government nor any group or class of citizens should be permitted to take advantage of the war situation to suppress discussion and agitation of domestic problems, whether political, social, economic, or moral. At the same time, however, it has held to the view that neither under the guise of political theory, social conviction, or religious creed should any man or group of men be permitted to indulge in propaganda which has the deliberate purpose of disintegrating our strength in the war or which is of an essential nature necessarily producing that effect.

With this quotation we take our leave of Mr. Gregory, we trust forever, since his announced retirement to private life gives earnest of such a desirable possibility. But we hope his report will be read earnestly and thoughtfully. It would be an invaluable addendum to a course in the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States; with perhaps the essays and speeches of Wendell Phillips thrown in by way of interpretative commentary. We hope each thoughtful citizen who is pondering, as many must be pondering, on the meaning of democracy and its essential distinction from mere republicanism, will read it; then lay it away, read it over again five years from now, and again ten years from now. He will have a higher opinion of its usefulness then than it is perhaps possible for any one to have at present.

Whoso Shall Offend

THERE has been placed in our hands a copy of *Current Events*, a publication styling itself "a condensed newspaper, weekly, for use in public and private schools," claiming, we believe truthfully, a larger circulation than any other school paper in the world. It goes, at all events, by hundreds of thousands into the hands of school children, and has a quasi-official sanction from innumerable schools. The copy which we possess is of the issue dated Friday, November 15, 1918. After the manner of most school and family papers, *Current Events* carries a question box in which questions of sufficiently general interest receive attention. There we read:

11. What is the meaning of the terms Bolshevik and Soviets?

Ans.—Bolshevik is the adjective from the Russian noun Bolsheviki. It refers to the party of extremists now in power in Russia, and may be freely translated as "Those Who Want Everything They Can Lay Their Hands On." Selfishness and greed are of course at the roots of it. The Latinized form is "Maximalists," a word sometimes used as a substitute for Bolsheviki. The party, if such it can be called, is made up of many discordant elements—Socialists, Anarchists, Nihilists, Communists, social visionaries, thieves, pickpockets, robbers, terrorists, grafters, and a great mass of ignorant, unthinking people, all united for the present in a blind desire to destroy all whom they fancy to be in a position superior to their own. As Count Ilya Tolstoy says, the Russian peasant is what centuries of oppression have made him. Where there has been for a long time extreme oppression the people become brutalized; a too large and sudden dose of liberty seems to make them crazy and criminal. The only cure for the evils of despotism is more liberty, but just as food is fatal to a starving person unless administered in small quantities at first, so the seizing of liberty too sudden and unrestrained may be suicidal for an oppressed nation. America was fortunate in having liberty from the earliest colonial days; it escaped such horrors as Russia has now and France had after 1789. The typical true American is so accustomed to liberty that he is almost unconscious of it. He uses it with moderation, having constant regard for the equal rights of others. The Russian Soviets are local governing committees more or less under the orders of the central Bolshevik Government.

Current Events, in such writing as the above, is writing to suit its market, no doubt, but our wonderment is how any one can be found to do such work. The activities of Mr. Creel, Mr. Sisson, and the hundreds of other propagandists whose services have been placed at the disposal of Governments the world over, apparently for whatever purposes those Governments may desire, are incomprehensible to us. Yet, after all, they have been writing, primarily at least, for mature minds. How much more difficult is it to imagine the frame of mind of a person capable of spreading such scandalous misrepresentations among classes of trusting and impressionable children. We can only revert to the utterance of the Children's Friend: "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea."

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"Ol' Rags an' Bottles"

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

ON the grounds of the Capitol at Sacramento, amid deodars and palms, is a sun-dial bearing the legend:

The shadow creeps and creeps
And is always looking over the shoulder of sunshine.

Within the marble building on a recent sunny afternoon, Governor Stephens was taking the oath of office and in his inaugural address made a strong denunciation of the I. W. W. He declared: "It is important that every person should understand that neither labor, organized or unorganized, nor any honest man who works either with his hands or with his brain, has anything in common with these skulking wielders of the torch." In the legislative corridors ran hot discussion of the possibility of making membership in the I. W. W. a felony. To these men in the Capitol the I. W. W. was the shadow overcreeping their prosperity.

On the other side of town at the County Court House the Government was trying forty-five men and one woman under a blanket indictment charging violation of the Espionage Act. The defendants are all members of the Industrial Workers of the World, some of them organizers, most of them defence secretaries who had been engaged in raising funds to provide bail or counsel for their fellows. The circumstances are involved and peculiar and it is hard to get light upon the situation. The indictment, which covers sixty-nine typewritten pages, is for conspiracy to hinder the prosecution of the war by overt acts. But it is assumed that because men are fellow-members of the I. W. W. they would naturally plot together; therefore, apparently, it has not been considered necessary to prove that the defendants, many of whom were entire strangers to one another until they met in jail, had been personally associated. The overt acts charged are of a nature new to most of us; it is hard to see how the sending of telegrams protesting against jail conditions, and the receipt of letters from other I. W. W.'s in Cook County jail in Chicago, may be termed overt acts.

The occasion of the first large number of arrests was the bombing of the back steps of the mansion of Governor Stephens in Sacramento. Federal authorities, however, according to the statement of the defence, uncontradicted so far as I have been able to learn, reported that the I. W. W.'s were not involved in this explosion, and recommended their dismissal; and Governor Stephens himself concurred in this action, after an investigation made by his personal detective. According to the same authority, however, an appeal was made to the Department of Justice at Washington by the president of the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce and the editor of the *Sacramento Bee*, with the aid of an assistant district attorney who is contemptuously characterized as the "whitewasher of Oxman." In any case, the men were kept in jail some months. After the first arrests there broke out an epidemic of small fires in various parts of the State; numerous haystacks and barns were wholly or partially burned. At once a lot of migratory workers were rounded up (in some districts where the local quarrels of certain farmer factions amounted almost to a feud) and added to the first group.

In the meantime the Secret Service had not been idle. The entire I. W. W. Defence Committee of California was arrested, and indicted with the first group. Bail, which had originally been fixed at $2,500, was raised to $10,000. In five months the San Francisco headquarters for defence work were raided six times and the defence secretaries, while preparing for the trials, were arrested as often. The number of defendants has increased almost automatically: when a defence secretary is arrested another member of the organization stands ready to take his place and carry on the work, knowing that in the next swath he will fall before the machine. But the defence work throughout the State goes on with a waiting list of secretaries. Pictures of the arrested men were posted all over the State, although they were safely in jail and not fugitives from justice. This of course facilitated the gathering of testimony and sharpened the memories of those eager to testify. By the time the trial began the indictment had been changed four times. The overt acts now charged include arson, and by the strange supposition of conspiracy, men who have been behind the bars for months are held along with the newcomers for fires which they could have set only by "absent treatment." The indictment does not charge that all the defendants set all the fires. It charges that all the defendants reached an agreement to accomplish certain unlawful purposes, and that in pursuance of that agreement some of the defendants set the fires. All the defendants therefore are deemed to have been responsible because of the supposed common agreement.

And who are these "skulking wielders of the torch," as the chosen representative of the people of California calls his fellow-citizens? Of what type are these men so ready to surrender their freedom for the welfare of others as they conceive it? They are a typical cross-section of American life, as if all the random occupants of a street-car should be cast into jail together. Among them are workers with hand and brain, university men (one from Oxford), and agricultural laborers, workers at various crafts and trades, lumbermen, chemists, journalists (one the former city editor of a Los Angeles daily, one for many years Washington correspondent for well-known Western papers); a court reporter of twenty years' standing; young, old, and middle-aged. Two or three Frenchmen, a Canadian, and a Syrian are not citizens of the United States, but the majority are straight American—even though their names still savor of peat; Americans of the old type now rarer east of the Rockies than west. For the most part they are sturdy, though confinement has spread tuberculosis among them, influenza is supposed to have caused the death of five, and one has gone insane. On studying the faces of the group, as they sit day after day through the dreary trial, one is struck first by the absence of sullenness or defiance in their faces. There are some weak chins and some narrowed brows among them, some visionary eyes that under injustice might flame into fanaticism. But on most of the faces one reads kindliness, commonsense, American humor. In a strange town one turns to such people to ask the way, knowing well that the man accosted will gladly turn back to set the stranger right. And among them is

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one woman, a high-bred daughter of our South, slender and grey-haired.

So much for a first glance at the defendants. The jury, on the other hand, owing to selection, is a less diversified group—a butcher, an accountant, a retired grocer, a horse-shoer, an elevator man, an automobile salesman, and the rest ranchers. Three of them, probably, are under fifty; of the rest the average age is apparently over sixty. Eleven of them are said to be regular readers of the *Sacramento Bee*. Judged by their faces, their experience has not been broadening; they give the impression of men of habit rather than of intelligence. To such men, economic dissentients like the I. W. W. would naturally seem dangerous characters who should be shut away for the safety of the public.

On the bench, a forcible contrast, is United States District Judge George H. Rudkin, of Spokane, a powerful man, overtopping all others in the courtroom. Though he is past middle age, his vigor and keenness are unabated, and one feels instinctively that he will see justice done or know the reason why. The stage is set and the trial begins for the day.

Remember that the defendants have been from six months to a year in jail, only four of them having been out on bail; and that the trial has been dragging on for weeks. The defendants are shut away from their fellows, so far as one can learn, because of their economic beliefs. Although the nominal crimes charged against them would, if true, call for only a few years of imprisonment, yet under the Espionage Law, which has been stretched its elastic utmost to cover their case, they are liable to serve twenty years.

And what are the charges preferred against them? The witnesses are called in wearisome succession—a rancher, a fire chief, an under-sheriff, more ranchers, a petty police officer, a car conductor, a relapsed I. W. W. Each man testifies to from one to three fires in his neighborhood, —haystacks, barley stacks, barns, occasionally a lumber yard or a canning factory. In most cases the fire had been extinguished before doing much damage; in almost all cases the owner had been amply insured. In agricultural districts the fires had occurred in the night; in lumber yards or shops, after working hours or on Sundays; no person had suffered physical injury. What was the nature of these fires? Of supposedly incendiary origin. What evidence of this? A twist of rags the size of one's finger, about two inches long. Witness after witness testified to phosphorus-soaked rags, always of finger size, never exceeding two inches, till the defendants were in a gale of laughter. To find a needle in a haystack has always been a nine days' wonder, but how pallid an achievement compared to finding a two-inch inflammable rag in a blazing hay stack! The next witness ventured from the beaten path, and his rag broadened to the size of his palm, and contained a flat cake of phosphorus with its virtue undimmed by the fire. The testifying fire chiefs were apologetic; they had been so taken up with putting out the fires that they hadn't had time to investigate sources. So much for the infamy of rags. Small bottles were next produced, said to contain poisonous or inflammatory chemicals. These were supposed to have been found near fires or on the persons of the defendants when arrested. An expert chemist—a handsome young marine—testified to the injurious character of the contents, but admitted that these preparations were frequently sold for killing gophers.

The Judge grew restive under the repetitions and drew the attention of the jury sharply to the fact that the tesimony of the witnesses was overlapping, so that there appeared to be more fires than there actually were. Was any individual suspected of setting these fires? Apparently not, but one man was seen bicycling away from a fire at an early hour of the morning. If arson is to be proved it must be proved with rags and bottles.

One amazing manifestation common to almost all the witnesses was the photographic accuracy of their memories. A fire started, let us say, not "early in the morning," but "at 3:10 a. m., July 6, 1917." Many of us, perhaps, could remember meeting a stranger downtown late one fall afternoon; but what a marvel of infallibility he must be who unhestitatingly maintains that it was at 5:25 p. m., not 5:20, on November 3, 1917, that he saw the stranger cross Main Street. A young car conductor started to testify that at 12:20 a. m. on a specified night a strange man sat huddled on the front seat by the motorman—but either memory departing or conscience returning, the story became so confused that the Judge dismissed the witness. Several of the witnesses were afflicted with stage fright. A liberal allowance of testimony was ruled out by the Judge, but even so perhaps it registered the desired effect on the jury. A minister of the gospel testified that a stranger, whom he now promptly identified after the lapse of over a year as one of the defendants, stopped him at the corner of 19th and C Streets, at 5:20 on the evening of the explosion at the Governor's house, and inquired the way to H Street. The stranger had a package under his arm—and the Governor lived on H Street! The jury saw the connection at once, and no further links had to be forged in that particular chain. Two young fellows had been arrested for receiving dynamite shipped illegally by express, also near the date of the bombing, but as the nine sticks of dynamite were introduced into court *in propria persona* it could not be assumed that they were the actual cause of the explosion. The Judge ordered the removal of the dynamite, to the evident relief of the jury—especially as the counsel for the defence had suggested that the exhibit be tested to see if it really were dynamite.

An ocasional feeble effort was made by the prosecution to show that the fires under discussion hampered the Government in the conduct of the war. Wheat had been destroyed and some lumber burned. It was pointed out that a third of the output of dried peaches had been destined for army use. Witnesses were repeatedly asked if they had heard sentiments expressed by I. W. W.'s that were unfavorable to the Government. This was particularly mirth-provoking to the defendants, as for some time past baiting the Government has been a fashionable amusement of the privileged classes in California.

Perhaps more than enough instances have been cited to show the nature of the prosecution. The mere spectator, had he been allowed to be present, would at first have laughed with the defendants over the futility and absurdity of the whole attempt, over the absolute impossibility that anyone should take this seriously. But as the days wore on and the faces of the jury grew more and more set, till it seemed that the shadow of conviction creeping over their eyes had obscured the light, then a chill would have crept up the spectator's spine. Who, he would ask, is this prosecutor wearing out the days and threatening, with tragic farce, the life and liberty of almost half a hundred persons? Who is the prosecutor? The United States Government:

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we the people—every man and woman of us; we are accumulating crimes to fit the punishment, straining law and truth till some way be found of silencing those who do not agree with us in favoring the old order. The Espionage Law may keep a man mute for twenty years: let a crime be found to fit it. But the psychological effect of imprisoning a man for his beliefs is notoriously bad; it begets martyrdom and disciples. Let us therefore transform these leaders of their fellows into common criminals, above all into destroyers of Property. Let these outcasts, these rags and bottles of mankind, this inflammable human waste, be utterly destroyed. The shadow is creeping and creeping—this time the shadow of a blinded figure bereft of scales.

Little has been heard about the Sacramento trial. Idle spectators are not admitted. I. W. W.'s are threatened with arrest if they besiege the door of the courtroom. Friends of the defendants must meet the challenge of the marshal. The general public stays away from choice or prudence. At the press table are a man from a local daily and two or three women writing for weeklies. A young man from the Associated Press looks in to keep track of things. But there is no "story" here; so many hundreds, nay thousands of Americans are being tried or awaiting trial, or suffering imprisonment for their convictions, that the story no longer contains an element of news. The jaded public fails to quicken with either sympathy or indignation; it is bored by the Espionage Law.

Another unusual element that has deprived this trial of the propaganda of publicity is the situation among the defendants themselves. Early in their imprisonment they retained counsel, but as the months passed and they were prevented from discussing developments with outside friends, or with their fellows who were out on bail, seldom hearing from their counsel, they lost confidence in legal defence and agreed among themselves to go on a strike of silence. Meantime those who were out on bail had continued their preparation for defence and were not party to the so-called strike. The complications ensuing are unfortunate. What might perhaps have been an unassailable wall of silence has been breached by the defence of the three. On the other hand, this slender voice of protest is almost muffled by the silence of the forty-odd. The puzzled jurors may be asking: "If they aren't guilty, why don't they say so?" It is easy to understand the state of mind advocating the silent defence. When one has been arrested fifteen times in four months as a "vagrant," although actively employed and under salary all that time; when one has been repeatedly arrested, held for days and then dismissed without trial, only to be re-arrested the following day; when the crimes charged against one multiply overnight, is it to be wondered at that the defendants wearily say, "What's the use?"

Yet it is a serious question if such an opportunity for public education should be thus withheld. We should be made to recognize and face our responsibility in the matter. Perhaps, as Robert Whitaker says, we need not fewer good men in jail, but more and more until we will no longer endure injustice.

Sacramento, Cal., January 13

[According to Associated Press dispatches of January 16, all forty-six of the defendants were found guilty by the jury, which returned the verdict after being out about an hour. Judge Rudkin's charge is quoted in part as follows:

"The mere fact that these defendants are Industrial Workers of the World should not justify a verdict of guilty. The fact that they may be found to be conscientious objectors to war should not be held against them in the consideration of this case. Opinions which they hold in opposition to war and which undeniably stand alone are not an evidence of guilt."

Referring to the "silent defence" of forty-three of the defendants who have spoken no word and have been unrepresented by counsel throughout the trial, Judge Rudkin said that such silence should not be held against them.

Private telegraphic advices are as follows:

"Blanket verdict guilty: forty-six defendants in sixty-five minutes. Judge Rudkin's charge remarkably fair, intimating clearly that individuals under the blanket indictment had not been shown to be connected with acts of arson or sabotage and that no individual could be held under the law on account of his economic or political views or held responsible for the politics of any organization of which he might be a member. His charge was what is known as an 'Acquittal charge.' "—Ed.

The Chicago Socialist Trial

By VICTOR S. YARROS

AFTER the famous I. W. W. trial, which resulted in wholesale convictions, Chicago had to prepare herself mentally for another extraordinary "political" trial—what many have loosely called the "Socialist trial"—in the same Federal Court. Five men, all leaders or active Socialist workers, agitators, editors, and writers, had been indicted by the United States Government for conspiracy to violate the Espionage Act, to obstruct and resist the draft, and otherwise to hamper the Government in its military operations against the Central Powers of Europe; to dissuade men and women from investing in war securities, and to encourage sedition and desertion. The indictment was a bulky document of over forty pages, and it contained specific references to, and reproductions of, letters, speeches, editorials, and other matter that, in the opinion of the prosecution, established the essential charge of "conspiracy"—common thought, common planning, common purpose in doing the alleged illegal and seditious overt acts. The defendants were: Victor L. Berger, member of the Socialist party national executive committee, editor of the Milwaukee *Leader*, a Socialist daily paper, and Congressman-elect from Wisconsin; Adolph Germer, national executive secretary of the Socialist party; J. Louis Engdahl, editor of the suppressed *American Socialist*, official weekly organ of the party; William E. Kruse, editor of the *Young Socialists' Magazine*, a monthly, and director of the National Young People's Socialist League, or "Yipsels," as the organization has been colloquially called; Irwin St. John Tucker, minister of the Episcopal Church, and former head of the literature department of the national Socialist party.

The selection and impanelling of the jury to try this unusual case required less time than many had anticipated. Only some thirty-eight veniremen were examined, and the whole process consumed less than three days. The twelve men finally chosen were: Hendee, a small merchant in the fruit commission business, who had never read radical literature; Bartholomew, a farmer and dealer in livestock, who had never read such literature; Nixon, an inventor, who

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had paid no attention to Socialism and did not know the number of his own ward in Chicago, or that it had had a Socialist alderman for four years; Ballou, a retired farmer, who knew nothing about radical movements Stanton, a mechanical foreman in a steel mill, who had never read radical literature; Waken, engaged in shipping insurance; Joyce, insurance man with no prejudice against Socialism and little interest in politics; Sheldon, dealer in farm lands; Carlson, a painting and decorating contractor; Light, a farmer; Kennedy, a retired merchant who had never read anything about Socialism; Harford, a farmer who had read nothing about Socialism and who did not believe in trade unions when they "go too far," but who was opposed to war on principle. Only three of the jurors were residents of Chicago, and none could be called an educated or cultivated man.

The Government attorneys were not the same who had tried the I. W. W., but the trial judge was the same—Judge K. M. Landis, the militant patriot and unconventional, latitudinarian judge, whose rulings and ways, as several lawyers and some of the defendants have said privately, remind them more of French justice than of American or Anglo-Saxon. Judge Landis conducted the Socialist trial as he he had conducted that of the I. W. W.'s—with but little regard for technical limitations and strict tests of relevancy and materiality. The trial, which lasted over four weeks, could have been considerably shortened had both sides been rigorously restricted to competent, relevant, and material evidence. But Judge Landis preferred to err on the side of leniency. He seemed to want light and knowledge on the points directly or indirectly involved in the case, and to wish the jury to obtain as much illumination as possible. Whether this helps or hurts the defendants in a criminal case, is a matter of dispute and doubt in Chicago legal and radical circles.

The prosecution iterated and reiterated the claim that it was not trying the Socialist party, the Socialist movement, or the Socialist philosophy; and that the issue of freedom of speech and publication was in no wise raised by the case. The defendants, asserted the prosecutors—and the trial judge took occasion to endorse their statements—had a perfect right to teach and preach Socialism, to write and print Socialist articles, to organize young and old Socialist leagues, and to criticise the policies and measures of the United States within the limits of the constitutional guarantees. They had been indicted and called to account, not for their opinions, but for an unlawful conspiracy to commit illegal and criminal acts—acts peculiarly reprehensible and detestable in time of national danger and stress.

Under the indictment the Government assumed the double burden, first, of proving conspiracy, the meeting of minds of the defendants, the conceiving and attempting to execute the unlawful and seditious design; and, second, of proving the overt acts constituting the attempts to violate the law or the actual violation of the law. In outlining the case for the Government, Assistant Prosecuting Attorney Fleming charged and undertook to establish these facts:

That an "underground railway" system had been organized and operated by Defendant Kruse in collaboration with one Bosler, an enemy alien now interned, by means of which draft evaders could escape into Mexico; and that this activity had directly caused a number of men of draft age to escape and become guilty of desertion.

That a code system of communication had been devised and used by the same defendant for the purpose of communicating with the deserters and informing them as to good places of refuge.

That all Socialists of draft age had been advised and instructed by some of the defendants, the others concurring, to resist conscription; that resisters were lauded, and that a league was organized to seek to obtain exemptions for members of the party on the ground of conscientious objections and religious opposition to war.

That "Yipsel" circles, composed of Socialists of draft age inducted into military service under the law, had been organized secretly in army cantonments for the express purpose of instilling revolt in the army.

That millions of seditious pamphlets had been circulated by some of the defendants with the sanction of the rest, such pamphlets urging opposition to the war and the draft, picturing Germany as the friend of America, and depicting the horrors of war in a manner calculated to discourage registration or enlistments.

That Defendant Berger wrote or published scores of pro-German editorials and had given instructions to display and emphasize Berlin cables and reports.

That Defendants Germer and Engdahl had printed millions of seditious "stickers" and had in other ways carried on a systematic campaign against the Government and the President, opposing every war plan or move.

That Defendant Tucker had written seditious pamphlets, notably one entitled "The Price We Pay" (for war), which other defendants had helped him circulate, and that he had delivered many treasonable utterances.

The prosecution offered and put into the record voluminous testimony in support, as it claimed, of these allegations. It is of course impossible to give here even a summary of this evidence. When the prosecution rested, the defendants' attorneys moved the case be taken from the jury, contending that the evidence in the record was utterly insufficient to make out even a *prima facie* case. Judge Landis overruled the motion and the defendants thereupon undertook to demolish the whole fabric of evidence against them. It is important to understand the theory and position of the defence. It consisted of the following elements:

1. The charge of conspiracy was stoutly, unqualifiedly, and repeatedly denied; that is, the defendants, it was argued, had never met to confer and had not engaged in any correspondence among themselves with a view to common action in opposition to the war policies or war activities of the Government. Common thoughts they had, of course, for millions and scores of millions of men and women in America and Europe had, and have, as Socialists, the same ideas about war, the capitalistic intrigues or interests that beget war, and the duty of the working masses in time of international disputes threatening war. These common thoughts naturally found expression in the Socialistic papers and speeches and pamphlets when the question of America's entrance into the world war had been broached, as well as after its entrance. But common thought and common expressions by members of a school or party that had a long history and a definite philosophy and programme could not rationally be regarded as evidence of a conspiracy.

2. The Government had no positive evidence of conspiracy—not a scintilla. True, a jury may infer the fact of conspiracy from certain acts and utterances of persons charged with such an offence, but where common thought and similar utterances are perfectly natural and inevitable, justice requires more than ordinary ground for inference. Proof of conspiracy should be overwhelming.

3. There having been as a matter of fact no conspiracy to violate the Espionage Act, or to hamper and embarrass the

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Government, the several defendants were entitled to an acquittal. If any of them were guilty of acts or utterances that were repugnant to the Espionage Law, they should have been tried for such specific deeds or utterances.

4. The defendants, though on trial for conspiracy, were, as a matter of fact, on trial for their opinions about war and the rights of free men and radicals in time of war. They had been indicted because of their prominence and their standing in the Socialist party and their open, frank support of the St. Louis majority platform. The real issue in the case, therefore, was the right of free speech and free expression of unpopular and advanced opinions.

The defendants were never pro-German, pro-Junker or anti-American. They had repeatedly denounced Prussian autocracy and Prussian militarism, and had expressed their hopes and wishes for the overthrow of the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg dynasties. They had never intrigued or plotted to bring about the defeat of the United States in the war. Their position was not anti-American, or anti-democratic, but simply and strongly pro-Socialist, pro-international. They had assumed and adhered to the perfectly definite position of the International Socialist parties on the question of war. They could not rationally be charged with lack of loyalty to American ideals, which they infinitely preferred to Prussian ideals. They could only be charged with preference for Socialist ideals and international sentiments; but these were not criminal.

6. The prosecution had painted lurid pictures of conspiracies and underground intrigues. It had misunderstood and distorted harmless or, at the worst, indiscreet and intemperate speeches and editorials and letters, and had imagined dire things of the "dime novel" order. In truth, what evidence there was of a legitimate and credible character went only far enough, if indeed it did go far enough, to convict some of the defendants of violations of the Espionage Act.

7. The Government had not introduced a single bit of testimony to prove that even one person had deserted, or had refused to register, because of the writings and speeches of any of the defendants. There had been many desertions or failures to register, but the Socialist party had had no more than its normal proportion of such cases. What of the Democratic, Republican, and nondescript deserters or shirkers, who had never seen Socialistic literature? And what of the tens of thousands of Socialist youths who had read such literature and yet enlisted or registered and served without demur?

The defence would have had no ground for complaint, and would not have accused the Department of Justice of seeking to destroy Socialism as a political force, if individual defendants had been indicted and tried on evidence clearly pertaining to their individual and several activities. Possibly some of the defendants could have been convicted in such cases. But the drag-net charge of conspiracy, according to the defence and many of its sympathizers, was most unfair and unwise, if the Government really cherished the principles of democracy and that of freedom of minority and individual dissent in a democratic society. It hardly needs saying that the prosecutors hold the verdict to be just and inevitable. They claim that the evidence was "overwhelming," and that the jury could not possibly, under the oath, have reached any other verdict than that of guilty against all of the defendants.

The defendants certainly had a fair trial so far as the judge's rulings and the mere methods and tactics of the prosecutors in court are concerned. Each of the defendants was accorded ample opportunity to explain his position; to set forth his ideas and beliefs, to defend himself and interpret his own overt acts or utterances as marshalled in the indictment. All took full advantage of this opportunity. Socialism was elaborately expounded and distinguished from I. W. W. doctrines or Bolshevism. History and philosophy were liberally drawn upon for explanations. In addition, each of the defendants was permitted to give his own life-story, to show why and how he became a Socialist, and what the doctrine of Socialism meant to him. Some of the defendants talked and acted on the stand like missionaries and propagandists, and the court never disturbed them.

The jury convicted them, it appears, on "the documents." The foreman of the jury stated in an interview that the "documents" and "exhibits"—letters, speeches, editorials, stickers, etc.—left no doubt in the minds of ten of the jurors of the guilt of all the defendants, while a little discussion sufficed to win over the two remaining jurors. It is idle to speculate on the processes of the jurors' minds, but it is probable that the very candor, directness, and boldness of the defendants counted heavily against them. None of them repudiated the St. Louis majority platform, though Berger and Tucker said they had not approved of its style, which was not scientific or objective enough. All gloried in the fact they were internationally-minded Socialists and did not believe in war for honor, territory, colonial empire, markets, profits, or investments. All ascribed modern warfare to selfish capitalistic designs and ambitions. Several admitted that they had opposed American participation in the war, even after the enactment of the Espionage Law, having seen no occasion to change their mind on the general question. They all testified, however, that they had tried again and again to obtain from the authorities a clear statement or definition of their legal rights under the law, and had assured the Postmaster General of their desire to obey the law and keep all improper matter out of the mails, but that no one had ever furnished them guidance. They had never intended to defy the Government and break the law, such conduct being contrary to their philosophy.

Of course, the case will be appealed. The defence was capable, if not brilliant, and it will endeavor to obtain reversals of the verdicts from the highest court of the land. If the record does not establish the charge of conspiracy, the appeals should be successful, at least in some of the cases. If it does, then, of course, under the law as it stands, the defendants have no grievance. Some of the defendants have savagely attacked the court and the prosecution, saying that "capitalistic society" thus through its pliant tools digs its own grave. These assaults ignore the important part played by the jury of plain men, average citizens. These men were not plutocratic tools or agents. They obeyed their own reason and conscience. If they were prejudiced, their prejudices should have been reckoned with in advance. At any rate, to repeat, the highest court of the land will have ample opportunity to examine the record and reverse the verdict if injustice has been done to some or all of the defendants through simplicity, lack of knowledge, and unconscious prejudice against Socialism or against daring, perhaps uncompromising, assertion by minorities and small groups of the right to protest and criticise a Government and a majority—within legal bounds—at all times.

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British Reconstruction Plans

IN a speech in the House of Commons, on November 12, Dr. Addison, Minister in Charge of Reconstruction, made the following summary statement of the progress of reconstruction plans up to that time. The essential parts of the speech are here reprinted as reported in the London *Times* of November 13.

We have had our people to a very great extent changed in their habits of life and occupation. The rate of wages is very much higher than it was before the war, and so are the prices of the necessaries of life. In fact, we have been living on our capital during the last four years. Suddenly there is a cessation of hostilities, to be followed, we hope, by the signing of a peace treaty. From now onwards people will be returning to their homes. They will have to shed their war habits and get back, perhaps, to their old work. But I think the high prices will continue, and that therefore there must be high wages if the present cost of living is to be met. High wages mean that we must have great production; otherwise it will be impossible to pay them. With all the changes attending demobilization coming, as they must in a few months, we must contemplate the inevitable reaction of the cessation of war. It is my duty to ascertain so far as I can what steps we can take beforehand to deal with the emergency.

We must aim at the restoration of our trade and industry as rapidly as possible. If we are to pay for the war we must aim at better methods of production, better conditions of life, and making a better use of all our resources. We must recognize the danger that may arise in time of peace from bureaucratic methods. We cannot seek to promote the rapid restoration of industry by particular state interference. If we are going to make the best use of the resources of the country in water power, for instance, it behooves us to consider our Parliamentary methods of dealing with these questions.

THE CHANGE OF OCCUPATION

He proceeded to say that he had asked the Ministry of Munitions some months ago to prepare him a report on the state of employment in the metal and chemical trades, and it appeared that 70 per cent. of the men and 40 per cent. of the women were still engaged on work of a kind for which there would be a civilian demand after the war. That made the problem much easier. Incidentally he paid a tribute to the help received from the various departments, and said that, although there had been a good deal of shallow talk about the rivalries of departments, it had not come his way to any material extent during the past 12 months. In round figures there would be about a million people who would require to change their occupation with the cessation of war manufactures. To turn over a factory from war work to peace work was not a matter of days. It might be a matter of a year or fifteen months. They would not solve the problem of the employment of displaced munition workers by expecting to employ them in the same factory. In the main they would not be absorbed there. What they had to look to was to restore the basic industries of the country which had been shut down and which were capable of absorbing the great proportion of this labor. An employer had told him the other day that he proposed to turn over one of his munition shops to another kind of manufacture, and that he anticipated that it would be fifteen months before he could begin work on the new kind of manufacture. That was not, in the main, the way in which the displaced workers would get employment, for the first few months anyhow.

As to the steps the Government had taken to deal with the immediate difficulty he said that, whatever might be done by the Ministry of Munitions . . . , there must come a time, sooner or later, when the work in the shops would cease in order that the shops might be turned over to other employment, in order to give time for the transformation. There would be this million people moving; there would be the whole of the demobilized forces—between four and five millions—to deal with. The Government were confronted with the difficulty that they could not set up the machinery during the war because they would not be able to draw men from the army. They had, therefore, to leave in the army a number of people whose services were invaluable in the process of finding work, helping the labor exchanges, and other organizations concerned. The first thing they did when the armistice was practically certain was to arrange with the War Office for the withdrawal of what might be called the "demobilizers" from the army into the service at home. These were the people who were to assist in the process of demobilization, to start the exchanges and the rest of it. Incidentally he would point out that that part of the scheme involved the issue of a free railway pass to any person who had changed his or her address for the purpose of taking up work on munitions or on navy or army contracts, and who desired to take up work elsewhere.

Public opinion and the press could help the Government very much in this work. There were at the present time in war work a very large number of people who were not dependent on that work for a livelihood. He thought that it would be fair to ask them to stand aside for the time being in favor of those who were dependent on industry for their living, and employers and those employed could assist in this direction in every part of the country. It was clear that, whatever they did, they must provide for an interval of unemployment. He hoped and believed that interval would be a small one. Difficulty arises not through incidental variations of trade, but through national circumstances. Cessation of war work was a national affair, not an incident of any particular trade, and therefore there was a national responsibility. They had to remember that when they had an insurance scheme based upon industry, those industries which had contributed most to the war requirements would be the most hit. Therefore the Government had decided to make provision for such unemployment as might occur during the coming months. For some time past the Government had had under consideration the necessity of introducing a universal contributory scheme of unemployment insurance for a term of years, to cover the whole period of resettlement. This measure being of a far-reaching character and necessitating full consultation with the industries of the country, could not at the present stage be applied to the circumstances which must arise in the near future, and which the Government's non-contributory scheme was intended to meet. Nevertheless, it was the intention of the Government to press forward with such a measure and to introduce it as early as possible.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT SCHEME

The scheme of out-of-work donation for ex-service men and civilian workers was as follows:—*Civil workers.* The scheme would be in operation for six months from a date to be appointed during which the maximum period for which donation might be paid to any individual would be thirteen weeks. *Soldiers, etc.* The soldier would be entitled to out-of-work donation during the twelve months following his demobilization for a maximum period not exceeding 26 weeks. The total period for which the scheme so far as civil workers is concerned, would apply is six months from a given date. In the case of a soldier the donation would begin to run from the day he personally was demobilized, whenever that might be. *Rates of Benefit* (ex-Service men and civil workers). Adults: 24s. per week for men; 20s. per week for women; 6s. for the first dependent child (under 15); 3s. for each succeeding dependent child. Juveniles: over 15 and under 18 years of age, 12s. per week for boys and 10s. per week for girls.

A note appended to the scheme stated (1) the donation would

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not be payable for the first three days of any continuous period of unemployment; (2) the out-of-work donation payable to partially disabled men in receipt of pensions would be additional to their pensions, and no deductions would be made in respect of such pensions; (3) in the case of juveniles the donation would be payable on the fulfilment of the conditions generally attaching to the payment of unemployment benefit, except that in addition they would be required to attend a course of instruction approved by the President of the Board of Education or other central department concerned; (4) payment of contributions under the existing compulsory scheme of unemployment insurance will continue. As regards receipt of benefit under this scheme, insured workpeople would not be allowed to draw simultaneously both the benefit under this scheme and the free unemployment donation. There were other provisions. With regard to the arrangements for juveniles, the instruction might be given in the employers' work-rooms if a satisfactory scheme of instruction was arranged. A number of employers had informed them that they would be glad to have classes in their works in order to keep the young hands together. The Government proposed to meet the whole cost of the educational courses for the first six months, and for the second six months the cost of those courses would be borne equally, half by the Treasury and half by the local authority.

DEMOBILIZATION PLANS

The Government has adopted as its fundamental principle that demobilization, subject to military needs, must be governed by industrial requirements and broad social considerations. It is important, in the first instance, that those who are now serving with the colors, whose services will be needed to carry out the actual plan of demobilization, should be at their posts well in advance of the actual beginning of demobilization. Those "demobilizers," as they are called, will therefore return first.

In the next place, it must be remembered that some of the industries of the country have been deprived of the services of men whose return will be essential before employment can be provided for a large number of returned soldiers. It would be folly to bring back into civil life a large body of workers unless the pivotal men were already in their places and the earlier links in the chain of production complete. Full inquiries have been made to ascertain who are the individuals upon whose speedy release the resumption of normal production depends. These pivotal men will be brought back at the earliest possible moment. With the return of the "demobilizers" and pivotal men we shall secure the smooth working of the machinery of demobilization and the preparation of industry for the absorption of the returned soldiers.

As to the general body of soldiers the general rule would be that those who had places waiting for them would return before those who had no definite prospects. Such men whose jobs were definitely waiting for them on their return would be demobilized in accordance with a scheme of priority. The Ministry of Labor was preparing a priority list of industrial groups, placing them in the order of their national importance from the point of view of the reëstablishment on a peace basis of the essential industries. Other considerations, however, had not been overlooked—for example, within each group preference would be given to married men over single men. Commanding officers would make up their drafts in accordance with the instructions they received with regard to priority. Men who were abroad would be sorted out into parties for various concentration camps which would serve certain dispersal areas at home. At these dispersal stations they would only be retained for a few hours, and they would then proceed to their homes, which would be in the neighborhood of the dispersal station. They would receive a protection certificate, a railway warrant home, and a cash payment, together with an out-of-work donation policy. The soldiers would then be entitled to 28 days' furlough, during which time they would receive pay and ration allowance, and the separation allowance would at the same time be continued. At the expiration of the furlough the men would be finally demobilized. . . . Although unable to state the exact number of men which it would be possible to demobilize each day, he assured the House and the country that the process would be carried on at a rapid rate, and the Government would take every possible step to demobilize the army at the earliest possible moment.

APPRENTICES

It was proposed that state assistance should be given in respect of apprentices whose apprenticeship had been interrupted by war service. No grant was to be payable under the scheme in respect of an apprentice unless he had reached the age at which he would normally have completed his apprenticeship, provided that in no case should such age exceed 23 years in Scotland and 21 years elsewhere; and it would not be payable in respect of an apprentice who was in the last year of his apprenticeship when called up for service. No scheme of training would be approved unless the unexpired period of apprenticeship was reduced by at least one-third. The employer would pay in wages to the apprentice not less than seven-twelfths during the first 12 months, and not less than two-thirds during the second 12 months (if any) of the total of the current standard rate, plus war bonus. The sum payable by the State would be the difference between the weekly wage payable by the employer and three-fourths during the first 12 months, and five-sixths during the second 12 months (if any) of the total of the current standard rate, plus war bonus. In no case would the grant be payable for a period exceeding two years. Where in the opinion of the Minister of Labor it was desirable that an apprentice should receive whole-time training in a technical school, a maintenance grant not exceeding 27s. 6d. per week might be paid for a maximum period of 40 weeks, in lieu of the state assistance. The Ministry of Labor would be empowered to pay such fees as might be approved by the Board of Education or other Government department regulating fees, for apprentices attending technical schools under an approved scheme. The Minister of Labor should have power at any period during the course of training to discontinue or vary any such grants, fees, or maintenance allowances, if in his opinion the training which was being given was not of a satisfactory nature. Any such action in connection with schemes involving attendance at a technical school, or involving training subject to inspection by an educational authority, should also be approved by the Government Department for Education concerned.

OFFICERS' RESETTLEMENT

The Government had accepted the general principle that from the beginning of demobilization and for a year after, permanent appointments in the Civil Service should be reserved for ex-officers and ex-soldiers. As the rigid application of this rule, however, would exclude certain candidates with special qualification, it was intended that the rule should not apply (a) to the relatively small number of posts requiring technical qualifications or involving special responsibility; (b) to a limited number of cases in which men pronounced unfit on grounds of health for general service had been temporarily employed, and were specially recommended by heads of departments. In this case it was intended that absence of military service must be balanced by positive merit. It was recognized that the further training or education of young ex-officers in various callings, or men not officers who had interrupted their training in those callings, was a matter in which the Government had responsibility; and the War Cabinet had agreed to the principles of a scheme whereby, where circumstances required, assistance with respect to fees and maintenance could be given on the recommendation of the Training Committee, to enable men in those classes to complete their training. The details of the scheme proposed would be announced very shortly.

The repatriation of the families of British subjects from overseas who had served in the war was a further matter in which

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the Government recognized their responsibility for giving assistance, and details of this scheme also will be made public shortly. It was intended that the Military Service (Civil Liabilities) Department, with an Advisory Committee, should be continued in existence after the termination of the war, so that financial assistance subsequent to demobilization might be given in accordance with a scheme based on the existing regulations of this department. Thus assistance might be granted to any officer or man who was unable, by reason of his undertaking military service, to meet his financial obligations after demobilization, and was thereby exposed to serious hardship. The obligations in respect of which assistance might be granted should be those arising in respect of rent, interest, and instalments payable in respect of loans, including mortgages, instalments payable under agreements for the purchase of business premises, a dwelling-house, furniture, and the like, rates and taxes, insurance premiums, school fees. Referring to one-man businesses, he said it would be within the discretion of the Department to make a grant, either in the form of a lump sum or by quarterly or other instalments; and if in any particular case the Department was of opinion that, in lieu of assistance in respect of specific obligations, it was desirable that assistance should be given for the purpose of enabling applicants to purchase stock-in-trade or shop-fittings, a grant might be given for that purpose. In connection with demobilization the Government had to consider the demand for opportunities of access to the land. . . . The only way of dealing with the physical difficulty of demobilization was to pool our storage capacity. An executive authority had worked out a scheme under which there would be a pooling of storage on certain lines of traffic, so that other lines might be freed as quickly as possible for commercial and trade purposes.

DISPOSAL OF WAR STORES

The disposal of war stores was a problem which had engaged anxious thought. They would all desire at the conclusion of the war not to incur any more scandals than could be avoided. If all kinds of people dealt with stores, without any relation to one another or any common policy, the likelihood of blunders would be increased. It had, therefore, been agreed that one authority must be responsible, delegating so far as might be judged desirable through existing supply departments. All kinds of estimates had been received as to the value of the stores. If he were to strike an average the figure would reach about £500,000,000. He hoped more would be realized. The Government had accepted in principle a recommendation that a Ministry of Supply should act as the centre of authority. With regard to the rapid restoration of trade, he said he had asked the advice of different groups of gentlemen who had worked hard in giving help. They had to say, first, what were likely to be the requirements of the country after the war. He was glad to say that the position was better than he would have expected. Some time ago he had recommended that a body should be set up, charged with responsibility for the promotion and production of raw materials in our Dominions generally, and an Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau had now been at work for a considerable time. A department which had been at work on the subject of the development of our resources at home had made some very promising suggestions respecting Ireland, and he hoped the Irish members would devote a great deal of attention to the mineral resources of their country. A scheme had been worked out for the stimulated production of materials needed in the building trade. The whole matter was to be managed by the trade itself. Employers, workmen, and architects had all been consulted. The next step had been to consider how to secure the necessary supplies beforehand, and a committee presided over by the Colonial Secretary had had the matter in hand for some time, and in the main the position was more satisfactory than he could have expected. The Shipping Controller, who was in touch with all this work of supplies of raw material, had prepared a tonnage programme which, he believed, was already in operation. The Controller hoped to issue in about ten days' time a revised freight rate (*ex* war risk), which was very necessary to give security. The tonnage programme was drawn up on essential raw materials exclusively; he was not speaking of luxuries.

STOCKS OF MATERIALS

The country will desire to know at the present juncture what stocks of raw material are available for peace production, and what preparation has been made to supplement these stocks by importation during the difficult year that lies before us. I will deal first with metals, especially those which are most vital to our industrial welfare—namely, iron ore, pig iron, and steel. There has been a great increase in our capacity for the utilization of home ore, and arrangements are being made by the Shipping Controller which will render it possible to import as large a quantity of foreign ore as was imported prior to the war. It is proposed to release iron and steel forthwith. The difficulties which may arise owing to the fact that, through the exigencies of war, the price of steel now stands at an artificial level, have not been overlooked, and it is intended to continue orders fixing for a period a maximum price for steel, though this may involve continuing some measure of Government assistance for that period.

With regard to other metals, I am glad to be able to assure the House that there is a sufficient supply available to render it possible to release some from control now, and nearly all the rest within six months. I am convinced, after a close survey of the position, that we shall be able to meet the demands which reconstruction will make on our resources. But while I am satisfied that there will be enough for all if it is equitably divided, there must be no selfish attempts on the part of individuals to secure more than their share, and for this purpose it may be necessary to take precautions against hoarding.

As to the question of national factories, he had often been asked what the Government were going to do with them after the war. A number were entirely state-owned, others were partially state-owned, and there were a large number of which the firms were really the owners. There were 115 of this class. Then there were 25 factories serviceable for storage purposes. The conditions had been carefully examined, and in the case of certain factories it had been determined that it would be injudicious either to part with them or substantially alter them. As to factories which were considered redundant, offers for their utilization would be received. A great group had been reserved for storage purposes.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY

A great opportunity presented itself before British traders, an opportunity which he hoped would be grasped by improved organization among themselves. There was vast room for it. But they could plan as they liked in regard to demobilization, the disposal of stores, and the allocation of orders and other matters, and if they had not industrial peace all their efforts would be in vain. He had explored the various avenues of approach to industrial peace, and many of them ended in a blind alley. They would not get industrial peace by any Government restrictions. It was suggested that they should have a great meeting of labor leaders and employers to see if they could not evolve some plan. All his advisers were of opinion that it was no good to proceed that way. It would be a Babel. The interests of one trade were different from another, and you could not settle them all on a single plan. What they had to do was to strive to get organization in the industry, authoritative and representative, which would be able to settle these things for themselves. That was why they had set up the joint industrial councils. He ended on this note of the vital necessity of industrial peace because he was so satisfied from the review which he had made of the conditions which would come to us in the course of the next year or so, that if we had industrial peace we had a unique opportunity before our nation to make a better country, a country worthy of the men who had fought for us.

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Secrecy at Versailles

(By Cable to the *Nation*)

Paris, January 18

IF the American people could know in detail what has been going on here these last three days they would rightly be extremely proud, not of their peace commissioners, but of their press correspondents; for the latter, faced suddenly with the decision of the preliminary council to make utter mockery of Wilson's avowal of open covenants of peace openly arrived at, have taken up the gage, and at this cabling have achieved a substantial success. How the President could have yielded on this vital point is absolutely inconceivable, for it is fundamental, and essential to victory on other issues. His one hope of success lies in securing the continued support of public sentiment by letting the peoples who have so warmly acclaimed him since his arrival in Europe know just what is going on, that they may stand behind him. Behind closed doors he can be easily outvoted, and without stenographic minutes all sorts of stories may be freely circulated to his injury. This is so evident that the whole fate of the conference may obviously depend upon the stand taken now. Yet President Wilson was present when the fatal action was taken, and he seems neither to have protested nor to have seen the impropriety of rules of procedure for the conference being laid down by a totally different body.

Immediate action by the American correspondents has led to a considerable gain in that there will be three American, three British, three French, and three Italian newspaper men present, and three representing other countries—fifteen in all. A solemn document, defending this limitation, was read to the American newspaper men. Composed by a member of the American commission, it is characterized throughout by all the familiar methods of Metternich, Bismarck, and similar masters of the old game of secret diplomacy. It did not satisfy the correspondents, for it specifies these privileges only for the open sessions of the conference. A rumor that there are to be five secret sessions to one open one did not cheer the correspondents, who have not forgotten the President's pledges. They accepted these concessions and one removing the restriction forbidding all members of the conference to have any relations with any newspaper man, but are determined to fight on. They believe that the French correspondents, who were in all-night session, did not represent truly the French press. These Frenchmen wanted not only the complete exclusion of all correspondents, but the censoring of every line of copy sent by anybody, while our men demanded the abolition of all censorship—a demand not referred to in the reply to the Americans on Friday.

The Americans are now planning a conference of all correspondents here to fight still further. An account of this conference and the further results, if any, will probably be printed in the dailies before this *Nation* appears. But no cable can adequately describe the splendid spirit of the American committee headed by John Nevin, of the United Press, Arthur Krock, of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, and Herbert Bayard Swope, of the *World*. In twenty-two years of journalistic experience, I have never seen a finer spirit or a keener appreciation of professional responsibility; for the whole group have realized that they were fighting for the freedom and integrity of our press in order to save President Wilson from the effects of his own lamentable blunder. They have felt that they were serving the interest of the whole country. American defeat here would be an incalculable disaster. Had the original plan, to which the President assented, gone through, the correspondents must have packed up for home, or if they had stayed they would have had to pick up stray crumbs of knowledge, often wrong, which would have made the peace conferrees waste much time in denying reports and rumors. This cloud overhangs and darkens the formal opening of the session. The affair has added to the friction and has made many see the advantages of holding such a conference in a neutral country. There was of course the usual ceremony attending the opening, and to this session the correspondents were admitted, but the fact remains that the work of the conference is being done in small private gatherings and that the big four completely dominate.

The conference met with no representation of Russia, Germany, or Austria. It is the first conference of the kind ever held in modern times at which the beaten side was not permitted to be present and to argue for its future. Unless the situation changes Germany will know nothing of her fate until she is told what it is to be, and the vast interests of a former Ally, Russia, may be wholly neglected.

It is certainly disappointing that Mr. Wilson has thus early resumed his old habit of compromising. The ancient excuse is advanced by some that the President, in yielding on this minor matter, is saving his trumps for the really big plays, like the League of Nations. The mistake of this is that there is no bigger issue than covenants openly arrived at, and that he who starts by yielding at the beginning is likely to yield in the middle and all the way through as a result of his early weakness. More than that, the President has so many cards in his hands and such marvellous popular support that he ought not to yield an inch. He has denied the report here sent to the New York *Tribune* that if he is thwarted he will take the troops out and go home. It was a pity to deny something that did him infinite credit. Of course the American correspondents here propose to continue fighting on for the President's peace terms; they can see their responsibility to their fellow countrymen in no other light, and they will be the first to acclaim Wilson if he wins and whenever he wins.

Meanwhile it is pleasant to report that in some directions at least the skies continue bright. There is a continued diminution of the talk of invading Russia, and it is encouraging that the note to the correspondents says that the conference realizes the necessity of making peace as rapidly as possible so that the armies may be mustered out soon. Yet it must not make peace so rapidly as to plant the seeds for future wars or do injustice through lack of adequate consideration of the endless problems involved. Among the managers of the conference there is keen appreciation of the need of saving Europe from Bolshevism, but apparently there is little realization that the surest way to continue unrest is to deny the fullest publicity to decisions affecting the fate of so many nations and peoples.

So the most important conference in the world's history opened at last this afternoon with a rather commonplace but fitting speech by Poincaré and tributes by Sonnino, Wilson, and George to Clemenceau. Mr. Wilson spoke gracefully as always but with unusual earnestness and restraint. The terrible responsibility resting upon the con-

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ference seemed to make itself felt and the gravity of this historic meeting, attended by all the correspondents, was emphasized by the absence of any applause, the only ripple of laughter being due to the error of an interpreter in translating a compliment paid by George to Clemenceau. The Tiger did not show his teeth, but declared that the programme of the conference had already been mapped out by Wilson, and, best of all, that the League of Nations would head the agenda of the next general meeting. So, with the fairest of words, was adjourned the first session of a body to which the eyes of all the world are turned, which contains more prominent dictators of governmental policies than any ever assembled before, but which numbers among its members no woman, scarcely a labor man, and no representative of the despised foe or the Russian democracy.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

In the Driftway

DOES the soldier want to come back to a new and better world? The Drifter has suspected that he does not. He has seen and heard new, strange things enough. When he gets home he wants the world to move on as it was before, monotonously, comfortably, familiarly. He wants the same dust in the cracks, the same bric-à-brac on the mantelpiece, the same dog at the door. And now comes confirmation of these suspicions. For the other day a miner returned to his mine. The boss gave him back his job without more ado; that was his right, which has been well advertised. But to the miner's consternation, he found himself obliged to drive a strange mule. So long had he been associated with his mule of pre-war days that not even shot or shell could change his affection for it; nor apparently had they disturbed that side of his nature which partook slightly of the nature of his beast. He struck. So just was his claim considered that a hundred or more brother mule drivers struck out of sympathy, until the boss found for him the mule of his heart, and life could go on as before.

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A MAN of aggressive information remarked the other day: "President Wilson's Cabinet is the most extraordinary Cabinet in American history; only three of its members were born under the Stars and Stripes." The Drifter looked incredulous, whereupon the man of relentless information relentlessly proceeded. "Fact," he said. "Redfield, Baker, and Lansing were the only ones born under the Stars and Stripes. Secretary of Labor Wilson was born in Scotland; Secretary Lane in Canada; and Secretaries McAdoo, Gregory, Daniels, and Burleson were born during the Civil War under the flag of the Confederacy. Even Secretary Houston is no real exception. He was born in '66, after the close of the war, but it was in North Carolina, and that State had not then rejoined the Union." The Drifter drifted on, marvelling at the things men contrive to know.

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THE man with the whiskey-and-water looked pensively at the ceiling of the club room. "I tell you what," he said. "They ought to take all these anarchists and I. W. W.'s, and that Socialist crowd, and the Bolsheviki, and put them on a ship and send them right straight home. All those fellows do is to knock our institutions, our laws, our courts, our rich people—everything American. We want immigrants who will work. We don't want these wild men." "Nonsense," said the man with the whiskey-without-water, and he, too, looked pensively at the ceiling of the club room. "I tell you what ought to be done. Deporting is too good for them. Hang them, I say. Hang them; these miserable foreigners who come here to take our money and then find fault with our institutions. And my advice is, begin with this fellow in the White House. Loyalty is all very well, but when a President of the United States goes around making speeches against capital and boosting the laboring man and——" The Drifter waited for something to happen, a bolt of wrathful lightning, or a raid by the Department of Justice. Then he remembered. This was a harmless sport. Distinguished members of one of our professional patriotic societies were having their evening-hate of President Wilson.

* * * * *

HIS sweater was orange and purple and he chewed his gum with reëchoing vigor, and he shouted, whistled, cheered, and stamped every time the speaker scored a point. As the crowd rose at the end of the meeting he turned a boyish smile on the Drifter. "Say, do you understand psychology? Then you know why I holler. It isn't that I *couldn't* hold in if I had to, but when I like a thing I whoop it up and it helps to get the strangers. Then they hang round and ask for literature. Hard on you, though, sitting beside me. Well, I'm glad you didn't mind. Say, wasn't that man Whitaker great? And you mean to tell me he's a *preacher?* I didn't know they made that kind—And they had him shut up as a pacifist in a dirty jail down in "Lawss" for ninety-four days? Good God!—and him a preacher. . . . This was some mass meeting for San Fran all right. I hope it helps the conscientious objectors and the Roosians. Thanks, I sure would like to shake hands with Robert Whitaker. What, you don't mean to say you're from the *Nation?* Why I read that every week—it's great stuff!" He flung a brotherly young arm over the grey-haired Drifter's shoulder. "Say, I hope I see you again *soon.*"

* * * * *

IN a vacant lot in the middle of a Baltimore block, the policeman in pursuit of boyish outcry found only a little girl sitting flat on the bare ground, her petticoats spread out round her, looking like an English daisy sprung from that barren soil. The policeman walked on shaking his head—he had been so sure boys were breaking the law by playing ball. Little Theodora Pollok rose demurely, picked up the bat she had been sitting on, and waved to the boys to come back and finish their game. This childhood habit has persisted—ministering to the happiness of others, and standing for their moral rights even though one be left alone to face the frown of the law. Trained as a museum expert, Miss Pollok's chief interest is not the classification of specimens, but the liberating of those specimens of humanity who seem unjustly confined. Her efforts to secure bail for workers awaiting trial in California furnished the excuse for her arrest by Fickert's men. With most of her friends flown like birds before a tempest, this Southern gentlewoman has for weeks been standing trial with the I. W. W.'s in Sacramento. When the Drifter saw her last she sat in the court-room, her delicate face upturned, among the solid ranks of the "boys" she had tried to help, and she seemed like nothing so much as a fragile blue cornflower among the wheat—doomed like the grain to perish in the storm before the harvest.

THE DRIFTER

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Epitaph on a Slave

By GERTRUDE NAFE

I, born a slave, have worshipped Freedom ever,
I, who have lived a slave, for Her been spent;
Unable from the Wheel myself to sever,
I die a slave. She lives. I am content.

Correspondence

A Liberal Peace

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On December 13, the day before the election in England, the *Manchester Guardian* said:

"To-morrow the British people will be asked to decide on the greatest issue that has ever been presented to it as an electorate. . . .

"There are, then, two policies before the world, and the election, if it has served no other purpose, has at least helped to set them in clear contrast. One appeals to the passions of all and the class prejudices of many. It demands that Germany should be bled white. After losing her colonies, ceding Alsace-Lorraine to France, Posen to Poland, and we know not what other territory to others, she is to pay twenty-four thousand millions, or as much of it as exists in tangible wealth within her borders, in war indemnities. She is to receive no raw materials, and no Ally will take her goods. How she is to pay under such circumstances is a secret known apparently to Mr. Lloyd George, but not, it would seem, suitable for publication. . . .

"The alternative policy is to deal out justice—stringent, uncompromising, severe if you will, but justice—and, having dealt justice, to make of it a basis of enduring peace. In doing justice Germany will have to yield territory which rightfully belongs to others, and to pay debts which she has agreed to pay—and they will amount to many hundreds, probably thousands, of millions. But having suffered her punishment and paid her debts, Germany will be treated as beaten men are habitually treated by Englishmen."

The election returns sustained Lloyd George. Are we to assume, then, that England wants a Lloyd George and not a Wilson peace; that the defeat of British liberalism means that a victorious nation is incapable of clear vision; and that therefore, with France intransigent and England tory, the cause for which President Wilson crossed the ocean is lost?

I think not. In spite of Lloyd George's victories, in spite of the unfortunate tone of the speech in which M. Pichon, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, promises a continuance of Russian intervention, there are things afoot which largely strengthen Mr. Wilson's position—strengthen it to a point where it may not be rash to prophesy that, if Mr. Wilson really fights for his fourteen essentials, he will be able to bring home at least a good part of the spoils.

The most significant fact is Lord Northcliffe's abandonment of Lloyd George and his open espousal of the British Labor party. True, the elections now place Lord Northcliffe on the losers' side—a position where he never likes to remain longer than is necessary to set himself for a leap to firmer ground. True, Northcliffe has proved himself as confirmed an imperialist as England ever bore. But it must be remembered that Northcliffe is also a confirmed and skilful opportunist. Those who know him can hardly doubt that he foresaw Lloyd George's triumph and British Labor's defeat, and deliberately chose to be where he now stands, the advocate of an apparently lost cause. For Lord Northcliffe knows what the rest of tory England (for we must always class him as an essential tory) seems not to know, to wit, that a reactionary peace settlement will play into the hands of the revolutionary elements in every country. He knows that revolution is rampant over a large part of the habitable globe; that although England, in the throes of victory, may for the moment be deaf to the voice of radicalism, the time will soon come when the victory itself will be forgotten, and the people will ask for fruits of the war that go well beyond Guild-Hall banquets and parading home-coming soldiery. First of all, perhaps, they will ask for a peace settlement based on an order that has proved more enduring than the balance-of-power plan so thoroughly discredited by history.

Voicing the discontent of England, a workman on the Clyde said the other day, "We fought for freedom, and Germany for victory; the German people have got the freedom and we have the bloody victory." Meanwhile, Bolshevism is battering at the gates of Europe and the only hope of preserving the older political institutions is at least to prove to the discontented people of Europe that the war was not fought for the benefit of imperialists, land-grabbers, and indemnitists.

If it be true that President Wilson has made a defensive alliance with Lord Northcliffe in order to keep the ship of state of the Allied countries on an even keel; if Mr. Wilson will frankly join hands, not merely with scared imperialists, but with the British Labor party, the Socialists and Syndicalists of France, and the Socialists of Italy, and if, here in America, an intelligent public opinion can be developed against such a peace as is demanded by Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando and written in the secret war-time treaties—which, by the way, should long ago have been the property of the American public—we may still expect a conflict at the peace table that will result in a drawn battle, if not in a liberal victory. Much as we should like to attribute such an outcome to the statesmanship and conscience of America and the Allies, we must remember that more important than anything that will be said or done by the victors, is the huge renaissance of liberty which is proving to be the spoil of the vanquished.

AMOS PINCHOT

New York, December 30

Justice to Bulgaria

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In his article on "The Balkans at the Peace Conference," published in the International Relations Section of the *Nation* of December 14, Prof. Stephen P. Duggan has made certain statements that need correction.

In advocating the incorporation of Northern Epirus with Greece, he says that owing to her success in the Balkan Wars Greece acquired "the territory just beyond her borders inhabited by her nationals." This is not quite true. The treaty of Bucharest of 1913 annexed to Greece, in addition to territory inhabited by Greeks or hellenized Vlakhs, regions where Greek population is non-existent or insignificant in number. Such are the districts of Serres, Kastoria, Kukush, Voden, Lerin, and Doiran—in fact, the so-called Eastern Macedonia.

In view of the Greek assertions that Eastern Macedonia is inhabited by Greeks, the following announcement in the *Near East* (a London weekly) of November 15, 1918, is significant: "Martial law has been proclaimed throughout Eastern Macedonia by the Greek authorities, and an extraordinary court martial has been established at Drama." Now that the Bulgarian troops have evacuated whatever part of Eastern Macedonia they held, and the Greeks are in complete possession, one naturally wonders what need there is of martial law and courts martial in a province peopled by Greeks.

Professor Duggan accuses Bulgaria of being "guilty of downright treachery in beginning the war," but avoids saying on what ground he founds the charge. According to English testimony (see *Annual Register* for 1915), the Bulgarian Government informed the British Government of its conditions and demands more than five months before Bulgaria entered the war. Speaking of the injustice done Bulgaria by the Bucharest treaty in

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1913, Professor Milukov, the former leader of the Constitutional Democratic party in Russia, made the following statement in 1916 in the Russian Duma: "It was evident from that moment that if we wished to turn Bulgaria again into our channel, we could do it only in one way—namely, by removing the consequences of the treaty of Bucharest, and by restoring to Bulgaria what had been unjustly taken away from her. It was also evident that if we did not do this, Bulgaria would be free to choose her own way of realizing her national aspirations, and would go not with us, but with our adversaries. . . . During a whole year the plan of an Austro-German invasion of Servia and the possibility of her disastrous defeat were well known. During all this time it was no secret that Bulgaria was getting ready to occupy, in such a contingency, Macedonia." Both Milukov and the English writer in the *Annual Register* lay the blame for the failure of the Entente negotiations with Bulgaria on "the obstinacy of Servia," especially on the Servian Military League, led by the Crown Prince.

Ex-Ambassador Morgenthau also has told us why Bulgaria went into the war, and how it happened that she took the side she did. As a recent comment on the subject of Bulgaria's "treachery" I may be allowed to quote the following statement of Sir Edwin Pears, a recognized English authority on Balkan affairs, who evidently writes from inside knowledge. In his article on "Bulgaria, Turkey and the War," published in the November number of the *Contemporary Review*, he says: "When in August, 1914, war was declared, Ferdinand found the sentiment of his people favorable to the Allies. Bulgaria, as it appears to me, had a real grievance in the refusal of the Powers to carry out the arrangement which had been entered into in February, 1912. The British Government, several months after the world war commenced, was approached with the suggestion that the Allies should promise that if Bulgaria remained neutral this grievance should be redressed. A promise was given and the Bulgarians asked for it in writing. Time was lost and the Bulgarians claim that representations which they made to our Minister at Sofia were never transmitted to England. When the answer came, it is said to have been different from the promise which had been made. One Power was against the suggested arrangement. *I believe that Power was Servia herself*" (italics mine).

Professor Duggan's assertion that Bulgaria desired "to be the Prussia of the Balkans" is as gratuitous as the one about Bulgaria's "treachery." If he had seriously investigated the matter for himself, he would have been convinced of its falsity. He would have discovered, on the contrary, that Rumania has repeatedly and officially boasted of being the "gendarme" or policeman of the Balkan Peninsula; that Servia has prided itself on being its Piedmont, and that one of the most prominent papers at Belgrade, the organ of the Military League, bore that name; that Greece has openly advocated the "Great Idea" of resuscitating the Byzantine Empire and dominating the Near East. It was this idea which prompted the Greeks to call ex-King Constantine, the first King of Greece to bear that name, Constantine XII, as the presumed successor of Constantine XI, the last Byzantine emperor. A nation that strives after hegemony tries to stifle the national development of other peoples living in its midst, and to impose upon them its language, habits, aims, and ambitions. Bulgaria has not done this, and it is due to the tolerance and equitableness of her government that of all the Balkan States she is the only one which has retained, after her political emancipation, a Turkish population of over half a million. The assertion has been made that the desire for hegemony has been exemplified by the ruler of Bulgaria assuming the title of *Czar*. The word *Czar* is the only Bulgarian word for *king*. It is used for all kings, even for the Sultan of Turkey, who in common parlance is often spoken of as the Turkish *Czar*. A country that can force its ruler, without any revolution, bloodshed or foreign intervention, to abdicate and leave it, cannot be said to be either a Prussia or under the heel of autocracy and militarism.

Professor Duggan acknowledges that aggrandized Rumania and Servia would possess a population of 14,000,000 and 13,000,000 respectively; whereas were the Bulgarians "to receive all the territory which they claim they would number less than 6,000,000 people." He does not deny the claims of Bulgaria in Macedonia, but simply dismisses them by saying: "Whatever may have been its just claims in Macedonia, Bulgaria can now hope for no extension of territory there." Why? Because "it would be asking too much of human nature." According to the reasoning of Professor Duggan, "Bulgaria is a defeated state," and should have the principle, *vae victis*, applied to her. The "human nature" of over one million of Bulgarians in Macedonia, who ardently desire union with Bulgaria, is of no account. Bulgaria has forfeited whatever just claims she had in Macedonia; hence, let her nationals in Macedonia be handed over to Servia and Greece to be ruled by oppression and terrorism, as in 1913-14—a fact which Professor Duggan can easily ascertain by consulting the report of the Carnegie Commission (p. 160-2 *et passim.*)

AUDI ET ALTERAM PARTEM

New York, December 18

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: When I stated that because of her success in the Balkan Wars Greece acquired "the territory just beyond her borders inhabited by her nationals" I was discussing the application of the principle of self-determination, and pointed out that for the Greeks the principle would have no application in the Balkans except in Northern Epirus. I did not intend to imply that non-nationals had not been incorporated. I have always maintained in my writings that the unfair Treaty of Bucharest of 1913 was a very great mistake, for it held within it the seeds of future wars. But it must be remembered that the Treaty of Bucharest closed a war which was brought about by the sudden and treacherous attack of June 29, 1913, made by the Bulgarians upon their allies, the Serbs and the Greeks. (Even the Bulgarians admit to-day the treachery in this instance.) It can hardly be doubted that before that attack Mr. Venizelos would have been willing to yield Eastern Macedonia to Bulgaria in return for Bulgarian recognition of Greek retention of the great prize, Salonica. Many thousands of Bulgars were undoubtedly included in the territory annexed to Servia and to Greece by the Treaty of Bucharest. But that fate was brought upon them by the action of Bulgaria, which preferred the arbitrament of the sword rather than that of the Czar, to whom the matter had been referred by the Treaty of March 13, 1912, between Servia and Bulgaria.

My critic maintains that according to my reasoning "Bulgaria is a defeated state" and should have the *vae victis* principle applied to her. This is quite unfair to a writer who is suggesting that thousands of square miles of territory be added to this "defeated state." I suggested in my article that justice would be accomplished were Thrace transferred from Turkey to Bulgaria, and were the Silistria region, taken from Bulgaria by Rumania under the Treaty of Bucharest, restored to Bulgaria. This does not satisfy the Bulgarians. They want not only those lands but also the disputed territory in Macedonia, to get which they went into the war on the side of Germany. Having been defeated, they nevertheless expect the reward of victory. And at whose expense? At the expense either of gallant little Servia, which sacrificed so much for the cause of the Allies, or of Greece, which under Mr. Venizelos remained true to the cause of the Allies. Is this to be expected, or am I right in saying, "Whatever may have been her just claims in Macedonia, Bulgaria can now hope for no extension there. It would be asking too much of human nature"?

My critic further is indignant that I accuse Bulgaria of downright treachery in beginning the war, when, according to the *Annual Register*, "the Bulgarian Government informed the British Government of its conditions and demands more than five months before Bulgaria entered the war." He also quotes Professor Milukov and Sir Edwin Pears to the same effect. It

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is useless, it seems to me, to quote authorities in a difficult and controverted matter like this—Seton-Watson and J. A. R. Marriott might be quoted on the other side. The only thing to do is to state the facts. I tried to do that fully in the *Political Science Quarterly* for March, 1917, but can only write briefly here. To quote my critic, "Ex-Ambassador Morgenthau has told us why Bulgaria went into the war." He does tell us. He entitles the chapter that deals with the subject, "Bulgaria on the Auction Block." Moreover, as he points out, when Turkey in September, 1914, at the suggestion of Germany ceded to Bulgaria the territory on the lower Maritza, it should have been obvious to anybody on which side she would fight. Where, then, it may be asked, was the treachery? Up to the very moment when Bulgaria attacked Servia in the rear after Mackensen had commenced the attack upon her front, she was assuring Sir Edward Grey of her determination to maintain her neutrality. I refer my critic to Sir Edward Grey's statements in the House of Commons as published in the London *Times* during the month of October, 1915, particularly to the issue of November 22, 1915. I refer him also to the files of the *Near East* which he himself quotes with approval, and of the *New Europe*, which has been singularly accurate in its statements during the war.

My statement that Bulgaria desired to be the Prussia of the Balkans, it is said, "is as gratuitous as the one about Bulgaria's treachery." Then my critic goes on to make equally "gratuitous" statements about the other Balkan states: that Rumania boasted of being the gendarme of the Balkans; Servia, its Piedmont; and that Greece was consumed with the "Great Idea." Moreover, he is right. Space will not permit extensive quotations from Balkan writers to prove either his or my contention. But certainly anyone familiar with the exposition in French, German, and English magazines of the views of Balkan writers about the future of their respective countries will admit the justification of both our statements. I gladly bear witness to the toleration that Bulgaria has shown in the past to its Turkish population. In fact, if anyone will read my article in the *Political Science Quarterly* for March, 1913, he will discover that I have never been insensible to the fine history of Bulgaria from her emancipation in 1878 to June 29, 1913.

STEPHEN P. DUGGAN

New York, January 11

Poor Mr. Dooley

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: What is happening to the American sense of humor? One of the alleged offences of the I. W. W. is their quoting from Mr. Dooley! Among the many amazing things that found a place in the ponderous indictment against the men just tried at Sacramento, the following quotation was solemnly included:

"Don't ask f'r rights. Take thim. An' don't let anny wan give thim to ye. A right that is handed to ye f'r nawthin' has somethin' the matter with it."—Mr. Dooley. M. B.

Sacramento, Cal., January 18

Whence "Gob," and Why?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is probably rather an inappropriate question to address to the *Nation*, but can you by any chance tell me how in the world the American sailorman came to be called a "gob"? It has not, of course, as yet, found its way into any book of reference. Perhaps, it would be possible, in the interests of humanity, to keep it permanently out. Surely it is enough to dress him up in a hideous, and we should suspect uncomfortable, livery without saddling him with a grotesque sobriquet *par dessus le marché*. J. DE K.-H.

New York, January 15

Literature

Advocatus Diaboli

Eminent Victorians. By Lytton Strachey. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.50.

MR. LYTTON STRACHEY has been astute enough to discover a new way of fluttering the dovecotes. His book, first published in England last summer, has been meeting with a very varied reception; but people are certainly reading it, enjoying it hugely, or waxing extremely wroth over it. Mr. Asquith, whom it is perhaps permissible to describe as an eminent Victorian himself, has given the book the blessing of a mention in his recent Romanes lecture; and the initials appended to one of the most refreshing of many London reviews of "Eminent Victorians" are those of an ex-Cabinet minister of pronounced literary tastes. The ever-open correspondence columns of Mr. St. Loe Strachey's *Spectator* have hospitably harbored several indignant protests from friends, relatives, and admirers of the victims (there is no other word for it) of Mr. Lytton Strachey's biographical enterprise. The book, in fact, has had a magnificent "press."

Mr. Strachey's models are obviously the Gibbon of the Autobiography and the Anatole France of "L'Ile des Pingouins." Admittedly he uses his pen with a vigor, terseness, lucidity, and grace that recall the prose of the late Goldwin Smith at that distinguished writer's best. His frankness is unflinching, his brilliance unwaning. He is a master of exquisitely balanced epigram and unforgettable summation. In short, save for a few frightful lapses from that good taste in the written word, the nature of which is so difficult to define and the absence so easy to detect, the purely literary excellence of "Eminent Victorians" is high indeed. But,—there is such a thing as being unable to see the sun for the spots, and there are people so ingeniously astigmatic that they miss the moon for the man in it. Not to put too fine a point upon it, that is the essential and pervading trouble with the author of these sprightly pages.

It is necessary to assent immediately and eagerly to a position Mr. Strachey sets forth in his keen and lively preface: that in the delicate art of the biographer we have been as sadly to seek as Porson's Germans used to be in Greek. He admits, of course, our possession of a few masterpieces in the kind. One hopes that he includes among them that great and strangely neglected Life of Swift which Walter Scott wrote. But there is no gainsaying the fact that "we have had no Fontenelles and Condorcets, with their incomparable *éloges*, compressing into a few shining pages the manifold existences of men. . . . We do not reflect that it is perhaps as difficult to write a good life as to live one." Mr. Strachey deftly draws a melancholy picture of the usual two-volume biography, upon which the dust of our public library shelves so persistently accumulates; the "unctimonious" biography in which, as Desmond MacCarthy has wittily said, the incandescence of the subject is rendered by bleaching him white. Mr. Strachey will have none of this. His way of ordering things will be vastly different.

It is unfortunate that the author's limitations are so serious and profound. The elements are mixed in every mortal; but it is upon the littleness rather than the greatness of his subjects that Mr. Strachey's gaze is most keenly and continuously concentrated. The very illustrations—some of them—seem to have been chosen so as to render the subjects at their most sinister. If a damaging thing can possibly be said, Mr. Strachey will say it; and he will say it with such angelic irony, in an accent so childlike and bland, that a reputation is ruined or a life's achievement blown to smithereens before the unsuspecting reader quite realizes what Mr. Strachey's little game is. Out of a large and wide-eyed innocence he seems to say: "Here are all the facts for you, every single one. Judge for yourself. Am I not right in my conclusions?" And he has a weakness for setting

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down as facts what are nothing more than his own unsupported conjectures. As well go to a ginshop for a leg of mutton as seek the plain unvarnished truth from Mr. Strachey. What Gladstone remarked of Macaulay is more than true of Mr. Strachey—he does not always appreciate the motives of the spiritually minded. It is to be feared that the teaching of Christ is to him what Herbert Paul declared it was to Gibbon, "a subject of blank amazement and an opportunity for cheap jokes." What that teaching may mean to the life of the individual he has certainly no conception. Nevertheless he undertakes to track the secret ways of, and to show up in their true colors, four souls for whom human life could be understood and interpreted in no other wise than through the precept and example of the Founder of Christianity. His obsession by religion is ill-tempered and wearisome when it is not downright stupid and vulgar. Again and again it breaks out and blotches his artful pictures. The further truth is that, with all his clever brushwork, his legerdemain of language, he is quite without that most indispensable requisite of the biographer, imaginative sympathy. For him the people who come and go upon his page are specimens and nothing more. Vastly intriguing specimens, to be contemplated with the Olympian detachment of a dispassionate and callous investigator, forceps and spatula in hand, and notebook on the bench beside him. They are not human beings of like passions with himself, more or less firm of character, into whose hopes and feelings and fears he enters with the sympathy that comes from an experience of human sorrow and strife, and a tenderness that is born of mercy and pity.

Take the study of Manning. Ecclesiastical human nature (like every other kind of human nature) can be, on occasion, extremely tortuous. There is little danger of Manning's process of beatification ever being introduced at Rome. One is under no illusions about him. But Mr. Strachey's dreadful portrait presents a Manning whom his most intimate friends, not a few of whom are still alive to read this book, confess themselves totally unable to recognize. Consider such strokes as these: "It was only when the offer of a Merton fellowship seemed to depend upon his taking orders that his heavenly ambitions began to assume a definite shape." "It was [the relations between Manning and Newman are being discussed] the meeting of the eagle and dove; there was a hovering, a swoop, and then the quick beak and the relentless talons did their work." Newman is of course the dove. Mr. Strachey is comparatively clement with him. It was necessary, in order to deepen Manning's malignity, that Newman should be represented in as attractive a light as the biographer could bear to exhibit him. So the pathos of Newman's furtive visit to Littlemore is made rather more moving than it is, for example, in Wilfrid Ward's more accurate account of the incident. Thinly-veiled is Mr. Strachey's suggestion that Pius the Ninth held out hopes to Manning of promotion in the Church of Rome. "What did Pio Nono say? It is easy to imagine the persuasive innocence of his Italian voice, 'Ah, dear Signor Manning, why don't you come over to us? Do you suppose that we should not look after you?'" The author's gesture invites the retort that it is easy to imagine lots of things—if only you set yourself to it. Again, Manning is mordantly described as "highly efficient as a gleaner of souls—and of souls who moved in the best society." But our space is too limited to take up in detail Mr. Strachey's charges, expressed and understood, against Manning. The fairminded reader will find all that can be said on the Cardinal's behalf—and it is not a little—in the admirable and searching review of Purcell's Life of Manning by the late H. I. D. Ryder, reprinted in the latter's "Essays" (Longmans, 1911).

Dr. Arnold is handled even less gently. The shadows are all thickened, and some are projected which are not in the original. Arnold was a finer scholar and a much better human being than Mr. Strachey makes him out to be. To his literary interests and achievements full justice has not been rendered even in the Stanley biography. He is one of the most stately and scholarly of English prose writers. His "History of Rome" was immensely admired by such scholars as E. A. Freeman and A. S. Wilkins, who knew what they were talking about. If one wants to read Thucydides with one's feet on the fender, Arnold's edition is still by far the best. And after Arnold's spirited account of the course of the Second Punic War, Mommsen's narrative reads dull and stale. Arnold knew what he wanted, and went in quest of it with a great deal more decision than he is here shown to have possessed. The solid realities of the faith to which he gave allegiance he understood and loved to the end. Mr. Strachey's description of the closing days and death of Arnold is positively diabolical. Not thus lived, not thus approached to death, a man whose title to be called good and great remains as valid as if Mr. Lytton Strachey had never written a line.

Florence Nightingale and General Gordon fare little better. As Mr. Strachey sees it, Miss Nightingale wades through slaughter to a throne. She is envisaged as pursuing through life, with relentless instancy, a Juggernaut path. It is undoubtedly true that the popular notion of this lady stood seriously in need of modification. But to modify is not the Strachey way. "One has the impression that Miss Nightingale has got the Almighty, too, in her clutches, and that if He is not careful she will kill Him with overwork." In the course of these two studies many reputations, hitherto unquestioned, of the subsidiary characters, are scrapped according to the familiar Strachey prescription. Lord Cromer is badly bruised. Jowett is sharply flicked. By the present reviewer no brief is held for Cromer. He had his weaknesses. He made mistakes—a way we all have. But it is silly, to touch on only one point, for Mr. Strachey to assert that Cromer was not interested in the East. Cromer's book is sufficient answer to that. Gladstone is out of drawing, too. No doubt he hedged and dodged more than once in his political life, but he was by temperament neither a jealous nor an irascible man. The Arnolds, father and son, loved Arthur Hugh Clough. Carlyle admired him greatly. But Mr. Strachey simply sees him tying string around Florence Nightingale's brown-paper parcels. Truly, Mr. Strachey views the human scene through an amazing lens!

Gibbon, of whom, as has been suggested, there is more than a trace in our author's style, found in Porson's praise of his history "a reasonable admixture of acid." No one would quarrel with Mr. Strachey if there was merely the fair and necessary admixture of acid in these studies. Gone are the days of the biographies in which immaculate subjects were ceremoniously canonized. But he does not stay his hand, and the acid keeps on flowing. *Est modus in rebus; sunt certi denique fines.* John Morley's haunting phrase on Swift comes into the memory as one leaves this book. Mr. Strachey has genius, but like Swift's it is "a savage and unholy genius."

Doubtful Paths to World Peace

The War and the Coming Peace. By Morris Jastrow, jr. Philadelphia: The J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.

THE main thesis of Professor Jastrow's book, which was published while active hostilities were still going on, is "that we are fighting an attempt to propagate a national policy through military force, and that this issue is a moral one" (p. 21). With such a contention there would be, we fancy, general agreement; but with Professor Jastrow's exposition of his thesis, and with some of the arguments with which he supports it, we find it difficult to be always in accord. We should be among the last to defend the system of government which prevailed in imperial Germany, but it seems to us to be going quite too far in generalization, and also to diverge from the historical facts, to say (p. 31) that the German system "does not reason or argue," or that the sword is "its first and last appeal," or that "such a system naturally mocks at all moral considerations." Nor is the case for a moral issue strengthened by holding up the history of Rome, Germany, and Napoleon as

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examples of what imperialism ought not to be, while at the same time excusing British imperialism notwithstanding the presence of "features that cannot endure the strict ethical test" (p. 47); or berating Germany and Russia (p. 133) for the "most sinister policy of domination and conquest on a huge scale" revealed in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, and at the same time failing to mention the equally sinister policy of the secret Treaty of London. One would think, now that the peace table is about to be spread, that what is sauce for the goose should be sauce also for the gander.

Our criticism of Professor Jastrow's book goes deeper than this, however. What he appears to contend against is the use of physical power, actual or threatened, to enforce a national policy. What, precisely, does Professor Jastrow mean by "power"? What, in the last analysis, is the sanction for any exercise of governmental authority but the ability of government to have its way, over either the citizen who would oppose it or the foreign state which would contest its policy? Why, in order to show how brutal and vicious a Government like that of Germany may become, is it necessary to assume, apparently, that a Government is hardly justified in using force at all? Professor Jastrow makes a strong point, in his argument, of Nietzsche's superman as the one who "stands *above* power" (p. 62), who is "triumphant because he has no fear" (p. 63). How comes the superman to occupy his position of exaltation and triumph save as he has struggled upward through power to supremacy? Professor Jastrow would have the reader believe that a country "extends the influence of her civilization by the teachings in her schools and her universities, by the writings of her scholars, by the works of her artists, by the spread of her manufactures, by the examples of her citizens in the conduct of their lives, and by the spirit of her institutions" (pp. 54, 55). We are not sure that we understand exactly what is meant here by "civilization" or "extension"; but does Professor Jastrow know of any important country the essential characteristics of whose "civilization" have actually conquered a place for themselves in any other country through such means as he describes? Is the commanding position of the United States in the world at this moment due to the teachings of its schools, or the writings of its scholars, or the examples of its citizens in the conduct of their lives; or to the decisive power of its army and navy exercised in a just war?

The same unclear thinking seems to us to characterize Professor Jastrow's discussion of the problem of peace. "There are scarcely more than a dozen individuals in the world," he tells us (pp. 95, 96), "whose opinions on the *terms* of peace would have the slightest value"; accordingly, he turns at once to a consideration of "the kind of peace that the world needs." The peace which is demanded will have two characteristics: it will be just, and it will be permanent (p. 99). "By peace," he says again (p. 103), "we should mean the establishment of conditions that make for peace," among which conditions he includes a League of Nations with, *mirabile dictu*, the authority to carry out its decrees (p. 105). If what Professor Jastrow means is that the peace which is to end this war should be just, and so contrived as to give prospect of reasonable permanence, he says nothing which any diplomatic wire-puller anywhere would for an instant think of questioning. Such ethical pronouncements, however, lead nowhere. There is no such thing as a just or permanent peace dissociated from the specific terms of peace. Italy, for example, will profess nothing but justice, but what the world wants to know is whether Italy will be just to the Jugoslavs and the Greeks? Moreover, if the terms of peace are a sealed book to all save a dozen favored individuals, no one of whom will profess any desire save for justice, why exert ourselves to "swell into a mighty chorus" (p. 99) the popular demand for a just and permanent peace when, being hopelessly impotent regarding the terms, we presumably shall not be able to tell whether they are just or not?

The trouble with Professor Jastrow's book is, frankly, that it is one-sided. In his zeal to make plain the gravity of Germany's moral offending, he fails to discriminate clearly between right and wrong uses of power; while by addressing himself almost exclusively to the injuries which Germany has wrought—the references to Rome and Napoleon are at best remote illustrations—he by implication gives virtually a clean bill of health to other contemporary nations. On the other hand, the "power" which he would dethrone in the individual nations he restores in the League of Nations, shorn, indeed, of the will to mischief, but endowed nevertheless with the ability to enforce its will upon the nation which opposes it. Moreover, his relegation of the terms of peace—the only vital things about the settlement with which the world is passionately concerned—to the realm of subjects which only a favored few can comprehend, is the very negation of that people's peace which the world is demanding. We are constrained to believe that there must be deeper ploughing than this before the problems of war, or of militarism, or of the democracies which, in Professor Jastrow's curious phrase (pp. 126, 127), "have, on the whole, justified themselves by keeping national power within the bounds proper to the growth of a people," can be fully envisaged.

The English Romantics

Currents and Eddies in the English Romantic Generation. By Frederick E. Pierce, Ph.D. New Haven: Yale University Press. $3.

OF late there has been a tendency to break away from the traditional mode of writing the history of English literature; instead of considering a period author by separate author, cross-cuts have been taken through the epoch along the lines of the several more or less independent literary types. In Dr. Pierce's admirable study of the "Romantic Generation" the subject is approached from yet another angle: neither by individual authors nor by distinct genres, but by the various literary groups, urban and provincial, aristocratic and bourgeois, that formed and dispersed during the period, with due consideration of the influence of the component writers in each group upon one another and of surroundings and literary traditions and tastes upon the writers thus associated together. Dr. Pierce notes four "significant and definable forces" that affect the literary artist: the social influence of the group with which he chances to be affiliated; the personality of the individual writer; the spirit of the age in which he lives; and the literary tradition that he follows. Only the first of these four problems has remained a comparatively unworked field; and to that Dr. Pierce applies himself, not, as he says, "because of any exaggerated idea as to its influence, but because it has been least considered."

He has succeeded in casting upon old material a new light that sharpens actual contrasts and obliterates conventional distinctions. The survey of prevailing fashions and fads in literature a century ago, in the course of which a host of forgotten writers are called up for a moment from oblivion, brings the great poets and prose writers whose reputations survive to-day into relation with their fellows and accounts in part for the various theories that they adopted, the conservative or liberal position that they assumed, and the widely divergent results with regard both to form and to substance that followed in their writings. Thus, in the group of poets who frequented Holland House, where the traditions of the age of Anne still lingered on, there is found the Neo-classicism that withstood the assaults of innovation. On the other hand, in out-lying provincial districts such as Bristol, Lichfield, Westmoreland, and Scotland, through which the Augustan conventions had never thoroughly percolated, it was comparatively easy to break with established precedent, and it was from such places that "the New Poetry" emerged to receive commendation in other liberalizing centres, to provoke the hostility of the upholders of tradition in London, and finally to change the main current of literary taste.

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These groups and coteries were conditioned not alone by geographical situation. Dr. Pierce considers such vortices of enthusiasm as the antiquarian movement in poetry, the "Suburban Poets" who eddied around Leigh Hunt, the rebirth of Hellenism, the influence of Spanish literature consequent upon the Peninsular Campaign, and the far greater influx of Italian themes that was inspired chiefly by the expatriated Byron. His catalogue of groups is not exhaustive; we are surprised to find no study of William Godwin as the centre of a group; and no effort is made to trace in detail the influence of political opinions in the formation of the later coteries. The author generally provides abundant illustration from his wide reading in the ephemeral literature of the period; but in certain cases further specific evidence would have enforced his conclusions. Thus, Edward Wilmot's "Ugolino; or, The Tower of Famine" (1828) is additional testimony to the vogue of Dante in the third decade of the century. J. D. Newman's "Estefelle" (1824), a tale of the unhappy love of a rich Venetian girl for a poor gondolier, is an example of the many poems inspired by the new interest in Italy that came in part from Byron's sojourn there and in part from the comparative ease of access to Italian treasures after the overthrow of Napoleon. Dr. Pierce does not devote proportionate attention to the poetry of travel that followed the success of "Childe Harold" and the opening up of Europe after Waterloo. He mentions more obvious things like Rogers's "Italy" but fails to note such poems as Chandos Leigh's "The View" (1819), the anonymous "Viatoria" (1820), and Thomas Maude's "The Traveller's Lay" (1830). Nor does he emphasize sufficiently the wide popularity of poems in the manner of Byron's Eastern Tales evinced by the fact that it was thought worth while to publish such works as Barton Wilford's "Lilian Bride" (1821), T. G. Veal's "Oswald" (1818), S. R. Jackson's "Misplaced Love" (1819), and J. W. Dalby's "Ianthe" (1825). To the chapter on satire many additions could well be made, for example, George Daniel's "The Modern Dunciad" (1815), and the anonymous "Eighteen Hundred and Twenty-six" which contains, along with much comment upon the absorbing question of parliamentary reform, an interesting review of the state of literature in that year. There is no reference to the great contemporary popularity of William Hone, the champion of the freedom of the press and publisher of the bold and blasphemous "Political Litany" (1817). These *minora sidera* would of course not deserve mention except in connection with a book that avowedly does not "confine itself to masters and masterpieces" alone. Into the chapter on "Popular Taste and Minor Tendencies" in the twenties should have been introduced some at least of the indications, individually feeble but in the mass significant, of the slow growth of appreciation of Shelley and Keats. It would be difficult, we believe, to prove that the popularity of Byron declined so rapidly after about 1820 as Dr. Pierce suggests.

The book is excellent within its chosen field; but it is not so good when the author branches out into the study of other and more profound problems, such as the relationship between Milton and Wordsworth. The "general discussion" of the meaning of Romanticism does not aim at "a final settlement" and is therefore, though shrewd and suggestive, inconclusive. The final chapter, on "The Survival of the Fittest," does not alter, and contributes nothing new to, the verdict of most people of culture with regard to the writers of the "Romantic Generation" whose work is destined to endure. The unflagging liveliness of Dr. Pierce's style occasionally borders upon the flashy; and the perversion of various lines of poetry (*e. g.*, "That last infirmity of noble rhymes"), which he apparently believes humorous, is wholly regrettable. It was a mistake, notwithstanding the consequent pleasanter appearance of the printed page, not to provide exact references to the many quotations employed. The work is furnished with a good index, and in typography and all other details of manufacture is creditable to a press from which we have long been accustomed to expect uniform excellence.

Small Souls

Dr. Adriaan. By Louis Couperus. Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.

WITH a long breath that is suspiciously like a sigh of relief, we close the last page of this fourth and final "Book of the Small Souls." It is like closing the door of an over-heated, over-lived-in room, with the knowledge that at last we are free to stay out of it. There are still people in it, very real and "human" people from whom, as temporary housemates, we have not been able to withhold our interest or even our affection. We have moved within the shadow of the spell that holds them to each other, the spell of habit and family and place. Without very heartily liking or disliking any of them (since Gerrit's death, at least), we have felt ourselves belonging to them as we belong to our own kin, and intensely concerned in all their tiny affairs. One might say that only three things "happen" in this book, in the dramatic sense: a scream on a back-staircase, Constance surprising Mathilde and Johan with clasped hands, and the death of "Grandmamma" at the very end. The old grandmother, we recall, was the active centre of the family connection throughout the first three volumes of the series. Her Sunday evening gatherings were of ceremonial value, a physical celebration of the family solidarity. Them we attended with the other dutiful or half-reluctant ones, tolerating, or bored by, each other, nursing secret grudge or grievance, yet after all, if only by their presence, confessing their common front against the world, as members of one body. The Van Lowes are of no commanding distinction in Dutch society. A colonial governor, a few respectable representatives in the army and the diplomatic service, sum up the glory of the tribe. And there are scandals in the background, matters to be hushed up or brazened out by younger generations which seem somehow to lack even the mild initiative of their forbears. They are pretty much on the defensive. This is a house already enfeebled, trembling with the scepticism and the neurasthenia of our opening century. It may be reborn, it may pass altogether; at all events, we feel that with the last of these pages we have reached the end of an old order. And it is the death of Grandmamma that symbolizes this. We recall how, at the close of "The Twilight of the Souls," when Gerrit had taken the summary way out of the tangle of modern life, her mind gave way. Thereafter Constance becomes in a fashion the pivot of the family life. But Grandmamma, though hardly more than a dim presence on the outskirts of the family consciousness, is still a link with the past, and a symbol of unity. Her death is an enfranchisement: "They all looked at the old woman. She was sitting as usual, sitting quietly in her big chair, with her veined and wrinkled hands folded in her black lap. Her head hung back, framed white in her white hair. All knowledge was hers now; and her old mouth smiled because of it, encouragingly." She is gone, and her generation, its prejudices and inhibitions, with her.

To neurasthenic Constance and heedless childlike Van der Welcke, came mysteriously (you remember) a son, Adriaan. In him seems to be embodied all the potential strength and stability of the family stock, and something new, something of the future. From babyhood he serves as peacemaker between his half-estranged parents, and as perfect companion for these two who seem to have so little in common. He, the child, becomes their mentor and comforter; through him they presently reach a *modus vivendi* by which they are to be eased not ungracefully or unhappily down the later years. His is the big soul that has strangely emerged from among these small ones. His grave young eyes alone look beyond the petty self-interests and clan-interests of his people. He has the will to serve not only his kin but his kind. And he has the instinct and power of the born healer, so that his first mature act is to turn away from the family trades of soldiering and diplomacy, towards the trade of healing. He might easily become a

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fashionable and "successful" physician at The Hague, but he prefers the big gloomy family house at Driebergen (now the property of Van der Welcke) and the unremunerative practice of that rural neighborhood. Virtually he is the head of the family. Driebergen becomes the home of the dead Gerrit's big family, of the two eccentric bachelor uncles Ernst and Paul, and of various waifs and strays of the family connection. To Driebergen, also, Adriaan takes his too coolly chosen bride. For his weakness is that he is less wise for himself than for others. What is best for them, in body and soul, he *knows*. What is best for his own private happiness he can only guess. Mathilde is a daughter of the bourgeoisie whom he marries because she is healthy and normal and will bring healthy children into the morbid world of the Van Lowes. He does not foresee that she must herself remain an alien in that world of which even the halfwitted Klaasje is a full native. And the gloomy house at Driebergen, tenanted by the half-felt presences of former and none too friendly occupants, cannot have for her, as it has for its own people, a kind of friendliness, the friendliness of things that "belong," the desirable, if dull, intimacy of one's own place. In this relation, the tangle of his duties to his family, his wife, his children, his world without that needs him so sorely, Dr. Adriaan (a little priggish in his precocious infancy) becomes human and fallible. He is the physician of sick minds who cannot heal himself; until, faced at last with the total wreck of his marriage, he gains a vision of it as apart from his own personal happiness or rights, and unflinchingly essays the only possible means of salvage. Drab, petty, naggingly intense as we may find the details of this narrative, there is no getting away from its cumulative effect as a record of middle class life in the rather aimless, though restless, generation to which, at all events, the war has set a period.

Books in Brief

SCHOLAR, wit, metaphysician, university professor, essayist, public speaker, poet, politician, and, above all, Irishman, what had the late "Tom" Kettle (as his world affectionately knew him) to do with war that he should go and get himself killed at Ginchy, where he fell while leading his company of Dublin Fusiliers in a gallant and successful attack on an enemy position? War concerned him because he so hated it that he had to fight for its abolition; and in this particular war he felt that "Ireland had a duty not only to herself, but to the world." Thus it is something more than a love of good literature, more than the appreciation of excellent and conscientious literary craftsmanship, that makes acceptable at this time the re-issue, in one handy volume, of Thomas M. Kettle's occasional pieces comprised in "The Day's Burden, Studies Literary and Political, and Miscellaneous Essays" (Scribners)—to which some friendly hand might well have added at least a brief biographical memoir of the brilliant and variously gifted author and patriot. "The Day's Burden," best known and most characteristic of his writings, needs no formal review at this late date, nearly nine years after its first appearance, and the chapters that make up the remaining half of the volume are also familiar to many readers, having appeared in various periodicals between the years 1910 and 1914. They have to do with the labor question, with economics and nationalism, with the unimportance of politics, with the importance of being narrow-minded, and with divers other fruitful topics. Naturally it is the Irishman outraged by his country's wrongs who speaks in more than one of these pages, and it is needless to add that he speaks eloquently, wittily, brilliantly. Indeed, the eloquence, the wit, the brilliance of his style are what make the book so very much worth while. Its play of Celtic wit and fancy recalls some of the author's more famous spoken sallies in epigram and repartee, as when, on hearing an obscure verse-writer, a non-participant in the war, declare that he "would rather be a tenth-rate minor poet than a great soldier," Kettle cuttingly retorted, "Well, aren't you?" And it may be permissible to smile (but wholly without malice now) at his impromptu characterization of a famous ex-President visiting Europe a decade ago: "This new Tartarin of Tarascon who has come from America to shoot lions and lecture empires."

A FRESHNESS of vast open spaces breathes from every page of W. H. Hudson's story of his early life, "Far Away and Long Ago" (Dutton; $2.50). Seldom are youthful reminiscences recounted with greater dignity, beauty, and vividness. Mr. Hudson was born on the "illimitable grassy plain" of the South American pampas, in an old Spanish house called "The Twenty-five Ombu Trees." From the start his adventures have for us a flavor remote and unexperienced. In those early years of the '40's a day's ride might separate neighbors, and a visit to a friend's *estancia* was a red-letter day. They were of all kinds, the neighbors: knife-swinging gauchos gay with adornment, more centaurs than men; occasional rare Englishmen with a trail of mystery; and fantastic figures found only in remote regions. Not only were the small boy's associates of strange pattern, but his adventures with serpents, rats, armadillos, and ostriches are as unusual as the customs of the land. The brutal habits of the gauchos, their horrible butchery of cattle, and their fiendish predilection for throat-cutting, made deep impressions on the boy's sensitive soul. Elemental dangers, too, surrounded him. Storms brought death, and terrific fires swept across the plains. The method of cutting off the flames sounds strange to our ears. "One way to make the path was to lasso and kill a few sheep from the nearest flock and drag them up and down at a gallop through the dense thistles until a broad space was clear when the flames could be beaten out with horse-rugs." But of all his adventures those concerned with birds were most vital to the boy, most beautiful and most intimate. Through his story is a continual glint of brilliant feathers, a ruffle of spreading wings, and a melody of bird-song. The adventures of the spirit, too, are no less vivid than the daily life with his brothers, and the sympathy between mother and son is tenderly portrayed. With every volume given us from his pen, Mr. Hudson should become dearer to the American public.

A CLEARLY written résumé of information not easily accessible to the general reader is Kirk H. Porter's "History of Suffrage in the United States" (University of Chicago Press; $1.25). The author shows the persistence and the continuity of the struggle to secure the franchise for "some large and discontented group, which has been going on since 1776," when a privileged class of taxpayers and property owners monopolized the electorate. The attention given to negro suffrage shows careful study of significant events and reveals the determination of Southern white men to prevent colored citizens from voting. No one, however, who is acquainted with the movement for the advancement of the colored people would accept as true the author's statement on page 220 that "the negro is a passive and careless witness of his own political funeral." Nor is the attitude of the "new South," the progressive white South, so unanimous in denial of political rights to the negro as this book seems to indicate. In regard to women, also, the author fails to note some vital elements in the movement for sex democracy. Remarkable is the assertion that "the real battlefield of woman suffrage has always been in New York." Suffrage maps show the most careless student that the pioneer states of the West fought and settled this battle years before even the great leadership of the New York women secured its chance for a serious popular movement. One strange omission in a book aiming to cover the whole history of suffrage in our country is to be found in the total neglect of the "Indian Rights" movement, of the "division of lands in severalty," and the consequent attainment of voting power by some Indians. The author's inference that the principle of "equality of rights" as a basis for suffrage is obsolete and that "social expediency" is

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the only test for any movement to enlarge the electorate, is not quite justified in the light of the world-wide movement of oppressed and dependent nationalities toward "self-determination" and the uprising of the women in all countries to secure full citizenship. The old symbol of equal rights is indeed deposed. But what is behind the demand that all should share alike in the privileges, as in the burdens, of the State is permanent and gives dignity to the newer claims for wider application. The author's treatment of "The Aliens and the Suffrage" would have been more complete and more satisfactory had this impulse toward a democratic principle of government received recognition along with the economic motives involved. The book, with its tables and dates and reports of legislative action, is chiefly valuable as a ready reference work.

VISCOUNT GLADSTONE'S brief memoir (London: Nisbet) of Lieutenant William G. C. Gladstone, of the Welsh Fusiliers, has a two-fold interest. It is a notable book in a constantly increasing library of biographies of young and gifted Englishmen who have died in the war; and it affords proof of the opportunities that colleagues of Gladstone in political life made for his grandson and his successor at Hawarden. Lieutenant Gladstone left New College, Oxford, in 1908. In 1909 he was appointed assistant private secretary to the Earl of Aberdeen, who was then lord lieutenant of Ireland. In 1911 he was made honorary attaché to the British Embassy at Washington, by Viscount Bryce. He was in Washington only a few months; and he had been back in England but a short time when the whips of the Liberal party assigned him to a safe Liberal seat. In the days of the patrons of parliamentary boroughs, when most of the boroughs returning members to the House of Commons had political bosses, it is not conceivable that a young man only two or three years out of Oxford or Cambridge could have had an easier or more promising entry into political and parliamentary life than was afforded young Gladstone by men who had been cabinet or Ministerial colleagues of his grandfather. How far the young squire of Hawarden would have travelled in political life can only be conjectured. He joined the Welsh Fusiliers as a second lieutenant in September, 1916. He left for France on March 15, 1917; and on April 13 he was killed in action. Gladstone was in the House of Commons for three years. By his service in county and national life, as well as in the army, he acted loyally and unstintingly on the conviction that a man owes something to the civilization into which he is born, and that it is his bounden duty to honor this obligation.

TO any one disposed to question the existence of literary giants in New England, and specifically in Boston, sixty years ago, it might be a sufficient answer to point to the *Atlantic Monthly* and to argue that the mere fact of its having lustily survived so many of its once famous but now forgotten coevals is due chiefly to the vigor imparted to it at its birth, when it sprang, Athena-like, in full maturity of power from the collective brain of those Boston and Cambridge and Concord worthies who conceived it. At any rate, one cannot read M. A. DeWolfe Howe's richly reminiscent little volume on "The Atlantic Monthly and its Makers" (Atlantic Monthly Press; $1) without feeling a renewed sense of the extraordinary talent represented by that brilliant coterie of writers who, at the instigation of James T. Fields and his "literary man" Underwood, launched the new enterprise with Lowell at its helm. It is surprising now to look back upon the magazine's early and long-continued indifference (comparative indifference, at least) to the things of the passing hour. Scarcely a trace is left upon its pages even by the tremendous occurrences of our Civil War. With full details of the magazine's founding and of its earlier editorships, Mr. Howe chooses to pass with discreet brevity over its later history, from Scudder's withdrawal to the present time. Anecdote and quotation abound, and pictures enliven the narrative.

ONE thing for which the English legislature deserves especial credit is the fact that it had learned a great deal about the regulation of railways during the first fifty years of railway enterprise and had then arrived at certain important conclusions which, in some countries, have not been properly understood until recently. England early recognized the identity of the railways' and the public's interests. While there are numerous similarities in English and American railway conditions, the English situation has in many respects been more favorable to the success of the principle of regulation as originally established there. In particular, while the United States has not consistently placed railway finance under close governmental supervision, England has from the first deemed such regulation the prime essential. Thus the study by Ching Chun Wang, Director of the Kin-Han Railway, China, on "Legislative Regulation of Railway Finance in England" (University of Illinois; $1.50), is particularly interesting at this time, when American railway policy is about to be revised. Among the best chapters are those on loan capital, the control of the borrowing powers of railway companies, and the regulation of stock-watering. The widely differing conditions of railway finance in the United States and England at the end of the war might shake the author's belief in the efficacy of financial supervision as the most suitable method of control.

THE pretentious title of "Selected Papers on Social and Economic Questions" (Putnam; $2) adorns a dull collection of the literary remains of the late Benjamin Chapman Browne, Knight. For the most part they consist of letters to the London *Times*, addresses before technical bodies, and speeches as an official on great occasions. The book is edited by Browne's daughters, and is introduced by a life of the author, wherein it appears that he possessed all the merits and virtues to which a shrewd, conservative, self-made English business man can attain. In 1894 he defended the institution of the House of Lords with a properly deferential array of ancient arguments; the advice he gives regarding "Industrial Conditions After the War" in 1917 is: "My own impression is that, if employers will do what they can toward meeting the men on a friendly footing, they will find the men fully prepared to meet them half-way; but they should never drive hard bargains, and should always treat the men with sympathy." This volume may have a historical value: its faithful mediocrity reflects sound prejudices. But it does not stimulate the mind in 1919.

ONE of the few war books thus far published which will stand the shock of peace is Eleanor F. Egan's "The War in the Cradle of the World" (Harper; $2). It is disconcerting to open it with the intention of perusing it here and there, only to find that hours have flown and one is reading every word. Mrs. Egan had a very unusual opportunity and made the most of it, and her book is a balance of human nature, description, and fact which lifts it above the usual run of war travelogues. Her account of the early achievements of the British in India, and the subsequent steady and tireless efforts in Mesopotamia which did so much to hasten the end of the war, makes us realize more vividly the splendid valor of that great nation.

A GOOD collection of patriotic essays for the use of college classes in English is Professor Maurice Garland Fulton's "National Ideals and Problems" (Macmillan; $1.50). Many of the conceptions of government and social structure which most earnestly engage our minds at this moment may not be well represented among these writings; but while we are debating the Fourteen Points and the League of Nations it is helpful to read again such papers as George Washington's "Farewell Address," Daniel Webster on "The States and the Union," ex-President Eliot on "The Working of American Democracy," or Professor Giddings on "The Survival of Civil Liberty." The college classes for whose study this book is intended cannot fail to benefit by it.

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Literary Notes

A memoir of Charles Booth, author of the classic "Life and Labor of the People of London," is nearly ready for publication.

"The Vision for Which We Fought," by Arthur M. Simons, will shortly be added by the Macmillan Co. to its well-known "Citizens' Library."

"A Poem and Two Plays" is the very specific yet not wholly illuminating title of John Masefield's latest book, as announced in the English press.

Sir Gilbert Parker's latest novel, "Wild Youth and Another," which Messrs. Lippincott will publish immediately, has for its main background the Canadian West.

The success of George Herbert Clarke's "Treasury of War Poetry" has led the compiler to prepare a second volume, which the Houghton Mifflin Co. will publish soon.

William Draper Lewis, former dean of the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania, is writing a life of Theodore Roosevelt, for which ex-President Taft will prepare an Introduction.

"Washington: The Man Who Made Us," a new play by Percy MacKaye, is to be published immediately by Alfred A. Knopf. The work is described as "a ballad play in prose, with a prologue and epilogue in verse."

Captain Raymond Recouly of the French General Staff, long personally acquainted with Marshal Foch, and at his side in some of the greatest battles of the war, is preparing a full biography of Foch which the Scribners will publish in the spring.

Secretary Daniels's account of our navy's war-time achievements and probable peace-time development is contained in a volume significantly entitled "Full Speed Ahead," which Messrs. Doran will issue immediately. We are told that the text will be "uncensored."

Edward Lucas White, author of "El Supremo" and "The Unwilling Vestal," has made a collection of his short stories dealing with life in Greece and Rome during the centuries just before and just after the Christian era, which the Duttons will publish at once.

Among forthcoming additions to Boni & Liveright's "Modern Library" are the following: "Poems and Poems in Prose" by Baudelaire; another collection of De Maupassant's tales, edited and translated by Michael Monahan; "Rezanov" by Gertrude Atherton, with an introduction by William Marion Reedy; and the complete works of Ernest Dowson.

A group of books dealing with public affairs of the moment, to be issued soon by the George H. Doran Co., includes the following: "This Famishing World," a summary of the world's food problems, by Alfred W. McCann; "The Force Supreme," by Walter Wellman, a study of world reconstruction; "Morale," by Harold Goddard, a discussion of essential factors in reconstruction; "The German Conspiracy in American Education," by Gustave Ohlinger; "Shaking Hands with England," by Charles Hanson Towne; and "Explaining the Britishers," by Frederick William Wile.

Thomas Wright, Headmaster of the Cowper School at Olney, England, and author of biographies of Sir Richard Burton, Edward FitzGerald, and Walter Pater, is at work upon a Life of John Payne, the poet and translator, who died about two years ago. Mr. Wright was an intimate friend of Payne's, and is now President of the John Payne Society, whose object is to make better known the original works and translations of that writer. As Payne was on terms of close friendship with Mallarmé, De Banville, and other famous French men of letters, and had many literary connections with such Englishmen as Burton and Swinburne, the forthcoming biography is awaited with much interest.

A publishing enterprise of considerable importance and interest is announced by Messrs. Appleton in a series of volumes to appear under the general title of "Problems of War and Reconstruction." There will be about thirty volumes in the series, each written by an authority in intimate contact with the special phase which he discusses, and with full access to original sources. The treatment will be popular in style and sound in fact. Each volume will form a complete consecutive history of some particular phase of America's war effort, leading to a constructive examination of after-war problems. The volumes announced for immediate publication include W. F. Willoughby's "Government Insurance in War Time and After"; Park R. Kolbe's "The Colleges in War Time and After"; Garrard Harris's "The Redemption of the Disabled"; Arthur Sweetser's "The American Air Service"; George R. Smith's "The Strategy of Minerals"; and W. S. Culbertson's "Commercial Policy in War Time and After."

Drama

"The Laughter of the Gods"

SYMBOLIC drama has too long been cursed with an effeminate tradition. It rises occasionally in our midst, long-haired and soulful-eyed, with the gentleness of a woman and the vague melancholy of an adolescent. And the common man, saying, "This is for women and poets," passes by on the other side. To this conception Dunsany gives the lie. Lord Dunsany is a sportsman and soldier as well as a poet, and his plays, poetic and symbolic though they may be, are virile to the core. "The Laughter of the Gods" is an entertainment for women, poets, and plain men.

It deals with Dunsany's favorite theme of Gods abandoned but not dead. A King in Babylon has moved his court from a great metropolis to the jungle city of Thek. The court is delighted with the change until the ladies discover that there are no shops in Thek, no neighboring princes, only a little street that ends in the jungle. The discontent of the ladies has the inevitable effect on their husbands who tactfully suggest to the King a return to the great city of Barbul-el-Sharnak. But the King refuses. He is enchanted with the beauty of Thek, with the vast forest, with the sunlight on the orchids. The courtiers resort to heroic measures. They force the prophet, Voice-of-the-Gods, to prophesy the destruction of the jungle city unless it is abandoned within three days. The courtiers do not believe in the Gods. The King does not believe in the Gods. Their civilization is so old, "the Gods that nursed its infancy are dead or gone to nurse younger nations." It is so sophisticated it needs no wisdom but its own. Therefore the King does not believe in the prophecy, any more than the courtiers who instigated it or the prophet who uttered it. "When the Gods prophesy rain in the season of rain, or the death of an old man, we believe them. But when the Gods prophesy something incredible or ridiculous, then our credulity is overtaxed," says the King, and he condemns the Prophet to be killed the moment his prophecy shall be proved false. But Voice-of-the-Gods still believes in the powers he has betrayed. He is overwhelmed with remorse and horror. The Gods who cannot lie have lied through his lips. Terrible will be their revenge. The Queen also fears the Gods, the young Queen, whose faith the court interprets as a disease. "Man laugh at the Gods," she says. "I am more sure the Gods laugh, too." She and the Prophet prove right. In an atmosphere of increasing suspense the play moves to the catastrophe. The Gods make good their lie and their laughter is once more heard above the desolate land.

The idea has a trenchant significance for a world so recently shaken from its smug foundations, and in danger of rebuilding

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the ruins on foundations equally smug and perilous. But Dunsany's irony is not the pessimism of the weak. It is robust and humorous, a humor that combines the intimacy of satire with the remoteness of irony. And he does not develop his idea by projecting symbolic characters in a dream world, with the vagueness of Yeats or the tenuous sweetness of Maeterlinck. He reads the meaning behind the world as it is and crystallizes it for us in figures that are at once symbolic and typically human.

The play is admirably produced and acted by the Portmanteau Players. We regret that Stuart Walker saw fit to combine it with Cale Young Rice's "A Night in Avignon," and the pantomime, "Stingy." The poetic distinction of Dunsany's prose makes Mr. Rice's poetry sound commonplace, and the rhythmic, clean-cut production of "The Laughter of the Gods" is infinitely more pictorial than the pantomime. T. H.

Finance

International Gold Settlement Fund

THERE is much to be said in favor of the proposal to create a gold settlement fund to provide a basis for facilitating foreign exchange transactions and to eliminate the necessity of shipping the actual metal between countries of the Allied Governments. It is probable that the details of the plan will be discussed at the forthcoming peace conference. Should the plan become effective, it might have a far-reaching influence in developing trade relations between the United States and other countries, as well as between all other countries in the group outside of the United States.

If this movement is perfected, it will probably follow the lines adopted by the Federal Reserve Board in creating the gold settlement fund now in use among the twelve Federal Reserve Banks. Since the accumulation of this fund, it has been unnecessary to ship gold from one reserve bank to another. Instead of such transfers being made, the gold is held intact in Washington and the fund provides a basis for transfers of credit between the different Federal Reserve institutions. In this way the transfers form merely bookkeeping transactions and the gold is not moved at all.

This gold settlement fund has been found very useful, and if it can be adapted for international settlements, it will be highly advantageous. If the fund is formed, the probability is that the contribution by the United States will be about $200,000,000. This would be less than 10 per cent. of the amount of gold now held in the Treasury vaults, there being more than $2,500,000,000 of the metal thus held in the United States at this time. Of this huge sum—the largest gold accumulation held by any nation in the world—$1,333,000,000 is held in the Federal Reserve gold settlement fund already described. The balance of $882,000,000 forms the basis for outstanding gold certificates.

If the plan is agreed to, the creation of such a fund will have very important bearing upon the foreign exchange situation of the world. The probability is that the fund would be deposited with the Bank of England. It would be immensely effective in expediting trade intercourse between the various countries and the probability is that the expedient would be of great service to the world.

There is a general movement on foot throughout the world to discourage the use of gold coin as a circulating medium. This is because the feeling of most experts is that the gold should be concentrated in the banks as reserve and used in the settlement of balances growing out of international transactions. There are excellent grounds for this supposition and it is hoped that the great Governments represented at the coming peace conference will find it possible to adopt the suggestion. The Federal Reserve Board almost at the outset of the European war started a movement to bring all the country's floating supply of gold into the Federal Reserve Banks. It did this with the idea of meeting precisely such an emergency as developed when the United States was forced to enter the list of belligerents.

If an international gold settlement fund should be created, the steamship companies and the marine underwriters would lose an immense amount of very profitable business. In normal times, before the world war started, it cost about $1,200 to cover the cost of shipping one million dollars of gold coin or bullion between New York and London. This amount paid freight charges, cost of insurance, and other incidental expenses. The shipments represented the cream of ocean freight business and were, naturally, in great demand by the steamship companies. With the outbreak of the war the movement stopped instantly, and such gold as was sent was exposed to the very costly special charges covering the submarine menace.

WILLIAM JUSTUS BOIES

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Flippin, P. S. The Royal Government in Virginia 1624-1775. Columbia University Studies. Longmans, Green.

Hassall, Arthur. France Mediaeval and Modern. Oxford University Press. $2.25.

Jones, M. E. M. Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774. Oxford University Press. $5.

MacPhail, J. M. The Heritage of India, Asoka. Oxford University Press. 60 cents.

Oakes, A. and Mowat, R. B., editors. The Great European Treaties of the 19th Century. Oxford University Press. $3.40.

Robinson, L. E. Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters. Reilly & Britton. $1.50.

Stuffer, Vernon. New England and the Bavarian Illuminati. Columbia University Studies. Longmans, Green.

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ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Asquith, H. H. Some Aspects of the Victorian Age. Oxford University Press. 90 cents.
Bridges, Robert. The Necessity of Poetry, An Address. Oxford University Press. 90 cents.
Cabell, J. B. Beyond Life. McBride. $1.50.
Clark, A. C. The Descent of Manuscripts. Oxford University Press. $11.20.
Emerson, E. W. The Early Years of the Saturday Club. 1855-1870. Houghton Mifflin. $7.50.
Koch, T. W. War Libraries and Allied Studies. Stechert. $2.50 net.
Studies. By Members of the Department of English. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

A Peace Congress of Intrigue. Century. $2.50.
Bailey, L. H. What Is Democracy? Ithaca, New York: Comstock Publishing Co. $1.
Browne, E. G. The Persian Constitutional Movement. Oxford University Press. 70 cents.
Fawcett, C. B. Frontiers. Oxford University Press. $1.20.
Glasson, W. H. Federal Military Pensions in the United States. Oxford University Press. $2.50.
Les Conventions et Declarations de la Haye de 1899 et 1907. Oxford University Press. $2.
Mann, H. H. Land and Labour in a Deccan Village. Oxford University Press. $2.
Means, P. A. Racial Factors in Democracy. Marshall Jones. $2.50.
Merrill, W. P. Christian Internationalism. Macmillan. $1.50.
Nevinson, H. W. The Dardanelles Campaign. London: Nisbet.
Petrie, W. M. F. Neglected British History. Oxford University Press. 80 cents.
Scott, J. B., editor. The Armed Neutralities of 1780 and 1800. Oxford University Press. $5.
Scott, J. B. Une Cour de Justice Internationale. Oxford University Press. $2.50.
Scott, J. B., editor. The Treaties of 1785, 1799, and 1828 between the United States and Russia. Oxford University Press. $2.
Verhaeren, Emile. An Aesthetic Interpretation of Belgium's Past. Oxford University Press. 40 cents.
Wilson, Woodrow. The State, revised edition. Heath.

THE WAR

Connolly, Nora. The Unbroken Tradition. Boni & Liveright. $1.25.
Desmond, Shaw. The Soul of Denmark. Scribners. $3.
Therese, Josephine. With Old Glory in Berlin. Boston: Page. $2.
War Book of the University of Wisconsin. By Members of the Faculty. Madison: University of Wisconsin.
Wellman, W. A. Go, Get 'Em! Boston: Page. $1.50.

MISCELLANEOUS

Bell, Archie. Sunset Canada: British Columbia and Beyond. Boston: Page. $4.
Bryant, V. S. and Hughes, T. H. Map Work. Oxford University Press. $2.50.
Buck, P. C. Acoustics for Musicians. Oxford University Press.
Report of the Governor of Porto Rico to the Secretary of War. 1918. Washington: Government Printing Office.
Report of the Governor General of the Philippine Islands, to the Secretary of War. 1917. Washington: Government Printing Office.
Sampson, E. Advertise! Heath.
Seybolt, R. F. The Colonial Citizen of New York City. Madison: University of Wisconsin.
Shriner, C. A. Wit, Wisdom and Foibles of the Great. Funk & Wagnalls. $5.
The Modern Library series: Woodrow Wilson's Selected Addresses and Public Papers. The Woman Question. Villon's Poems. D'Annunzio's The Flame of Life. Boni & Liveright. 75 cents.
Trollope, Anthony. The Warden. The World's Classics series. Oxford University Press.
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International Relations Section

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Poland and the Jewish Problem

By EUGENE S. BAGGER

COMMENTING on the arrangement for a joint commission of American Polish and Jewish leaders to investigate stories of pogroms reported to have been conducted by the Poles in Eastern Galicia, John F. Smulski, president of the National Polish Department, declared in a statement printed in the New York *Times* on December 8:

> I expect that the commissioners, irrespective of their religious beliefs, will return convinced that the real solution of the Jewish problem rests upon the creation of a strong, independent Polish state to relieve the terrible overcrowding, and with food products sufficient for all the inhabitants. With a reconstituted Poland of large area, there will be land and opportunity for all.
>
> Germany still aims to control Poland, and the creation of bad blood between the Poles and Jews in Poland is simply the renewal of an old method of ruling by dissension.

There are two extremely interesting points made in this statement, the analysis of which will contribute largely to the understanding of the whole Polish situation. It must be remembered that Mr. Smulski is an authoritative spokesman of the Polish side of the controversy, being the leader in this country of the Paderewski-Dmowski party and also a prominent American politician, the reputed "boss" of the 300,000 Poles of Chicago.

Under such circumstances his repeated emphasis on the necessity of a "large area" for resuscitated Poland can mean but one thing. The principle laid down by President Wilson, that Polish independence shall be restored in territories with a genuinely Polish population, fixes the area of the future Polish state at a certain number of square miles, with a very small margin for divergences in either direction. When, now, Mr. Smulski speaks of "a strong, independent Polish state" with sufficient area "to relieve the terrible overcrowding," he substitutes for the Wilsonian principle of nationality the much more elastic standard of economic need—a typical expansionist and imperialist idea implying the annexation of districts with an alien population. In fact, his suggestion of solving the internal problem of overcrowding by territorial expansion sounds uneasily familiar. It was to "relieve the terrible overcrowding" in twentieth-century Germany and to provide "land and opportunity for all" that Prussian Junkers sought territorial aggrandizement for the Empire both in Europe and overseas.

There are two positive ways to relieve congestion of population such as, according to Mr. Smulski, prevails in Poland. One is internal land reform, the other the annexation of additional territory. The negative methods consist in the reduction of population through war, famine, pestilence, birth control, or emigration—and pogroms. Mr. Smulski professes to believe in territorial expansion as the proper method. It is only reasonable to assume that Count Zamoyski, one of the leaders of the group for which Mr. Smulski is speaking, and the owner of several hundred thousand acres of Polish soil, also deplores the "terrible overcrowding" and looks toward the annexation of Lithuanian, White Russian, Ukrainian, and, in the case of Silesia, of Czecho-Slovak territory for relief. A similar cure for the woes of the expanding German population was advocated a few years ago by Herr Heydebrand von der Lasa, "the uncrowned king of Prussia," and by Count Westarp and others, with results which the whole world knows.

The other interesting feature of Mr. Smulski's statement is his charge that dissension between Pole and Jew is the result of German intrigue. Of course, by "blaming it all on the Germans" Mr. Smulski yields only to a natural and pardonable temptation. But it is unnecessary to go back to ancient history in order to show that something beside German intrigue is responsible for the ill-feeling between Jews and the Polish people. The great anti-Semitic boycott of 1913, for instance, was not due to German propaganda. It was due to the Polish nationalistic agitation, which was itself the outgrowth and superstructure of the political and economic situation in Poland.

The oppressed and exploited Polish peon—for the fate of the Polish peasant was and is no better than that of a peon or chattel serf—had not one but three masters to satisfy and serve: the noble who owned the land, the priest who ruled his soul, and the Jewish shopkeeper who had the immediate control of everyday necessities. The landowner and the priest had on their side centuries of tradition and prestige, community of blood, and spiritual influence. The Jew had centuries of racial prejudice and hatred against him. Whenever popular discontent assumed menacing proportions, the safety-valve was at hand: blame it all on the Jew. Poland is not the only country where the prescription was successfully followed.

But these elementary facts of the economic situation were only the straw, so to speak, in the brick of chauvinism. The straw is necessary, but it is only a means and not the end. Polish nationalism, exasperated by the terrible weight of Czaristic oppression and rendered supersensitive by perpetual frustration, followed the line of least resistance by welding racial prejudice and economic fact into a system of anti-Semitic philosophy. It is noteworthy that in Galicia the anti-Semitic coöperative societies were first organized by the same man, Father Stojalowski, who also achieved prominence in 1898 by the open advocacy of physical violence against the Jews as a solution of political and economic difficulties.

But naked hooliganism is not the native Polish mode of expression. The coarse slogan "Exterminate the Jew!" was sublimated into philosophical theory in the writings of the spiritual and intellectual leaders of the Polish nation. The thesis was advanced that Poland's catastrophic political weakness was due to the destructive influence of "the foreigners," i. e., the Jews. The power of the Jews lay in the financial field; therefore, to strengthen Poland, it was necessary to destroy the Jews financially. Here is to be found

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the whole history of the great Jewish boycott in a nutshell.

Nor was such ideology altogether hypocritical on the part of Polish conservatives. The Jews were, politically, "destructive" because they were radicals; even the Jewish capitalist championed a foreign idea of progress against the autochthonous feudal tradition. The Jews were the fomenters of unrest, the democratic leaven, hence it was the duty of every "true-hearted" Polish patriot to fight them for life and death. This idea was bluntly expressed by the leading newspaper of Polish Galicia, the *Czas* of Cracow, which, in 1892, openly advocated anti-Semitism on the ground that it was the best antidote to democratic progress.

Roman Dmowski, chairman of the so-called Paris Committee and the most brilliant of the conservative leaders, dressed the same thought in philosophical garb when he wrote:

> The Jew cannot be a conservative in European society, even if, for some reason or other, he has decided to become one. The whole tradition of that society is foreign to him, opposed to all that the Jewish soul has become pervaded with in the course of innumerable generations. The Jew treats with aversion the whole past of European nations; he harbors hatred toward their religion and looks upon all the hierarchy which has arisen in those societies as he does upon the usurpers who have taken the place due his "chosen people."
>
> The instinct of the Jew simply drives him to seek the destruction, in his European environment, of all esteem for tradition, of all the devotion for religion, of recognition of any hierarchy whatsoever; he slanders, ridicules, derides everything that must be sacred for every honest conservative.
>
> The influx of a powerful Jewish wave into our [Polish] life brought about, in these social spheres which came into a closer contact with the Jews, such a destruction of all conservative tendencies, such a rebellion against the national traditions of the Poles, such a decomposition of religious feeling, nay, even of the elementary esteem for religion, such an aversion toward any kind of hierarchy, even of the most legitimate kind, that his invasion threatens the Poles with a reversion to savagery. Had the entire nation succumbed to that influence, the Poles would have lost all capacity for social life, and would have become an anarchistic rabble without internal moral organization, a rabble capable of living only under the restraints imposed from without.*

Similar ideas, expressed in similar but better terms, have become, in the writings of the Chestertons and Belloc, the cherished *hors d'oeuvre* of literary *gourmets* in prosperous, free, and progressive England. In Poland, oppressed by the most brutal and thorough tyranny the world has ever known, these thoughts are like mines filled with high explosives.

Nor is this anti-Semitic incendiarism limited to conservative writers like Dmowski. Alexander Swientochowski and Andrew Niemojewski, the leaders of Polish liberal thought, have earned the applause of chauvinists by their determined stand against the Jewish "menace." A good summary of the anti-Semitic creed is given in a book by Stefania Laudynowa, *A World Problem: The Jews, Poland and Humanity*, published at Chicago in 1917.

> The pride and impertinence of the internal enemies of the Polish people, as, e. g., the Jews and Germans, and their underhanded dealings with the Russian authorities, blind to all the future, began evidently to increase. The Polish people, however, once awakened, stood their ground firmly and began to defend themselves with solidarity to the utmost of their power. The slogan, "Every one to his own" (i. e., the Pole to the Poles) became a law for the Polish conscience; to support Polish business men, to purchase from one's compatriots, to defend the soil of the nation—all this became a national command, and apostacy from these principles was branded severely by public opinion. On the other hand, Polish thinkers, writers, and publicists, as well as the entire Governmental Polish press, reinforced this state of the Polish mind by placing before the eyes of the Polish people another calamity: this time not only the conquest of the field of work, of bread, of prosperity by the foreign aggressive element, but the menacing invasion of the aliens into Polish thought and Polish intellect, and the corresponding destruction wrought by them there.
>
> As accusers there appeared men of such talent and depth of critical thought as Alexander Swientochowski, the creator of Polish progressivism [!], and Andrew Niemojewski, the leader of Polish freethinkers, both of them men who so far had defended the Jews.
>
> Andrew Niemojewski wrote a series of brilliant articles on this question, delivered lectures which were attended by multitudes. He, the enemy of all religions, expressed approval of the Polish clergy who were the first to realize the menace of Judaizing the mind of the most Christian people, and who inaugurated an incessant struggle against it. Noteworthy and exceedingly accurate and subtle is the way in which this thinker conceives the essence of Jewish influence upon the Poles, in the following words in the article entitled "Two Atoms of Jew, One of Pole," published in *Free Thought*.
>
> "The spiritual intercourse between the Jew and the Pole grew on the basis of derision. Said the Jew to the Pole: 'Together with you I cannot love anything, or esteem, or admire; we cannot suffer together because of one and the same thing, we cannot seek to attain one goal; but we can together deride everything. I shall deride your God, your country, your traditions and ideals, your desires and your efforts, and we both shall be above all this.' The Jewish sneerer came together with the Polish sneerer, and they began to sneer at everything. Thus arose the environment in which could grow no great idea, no great deed, since the Jewish acid of derision dissolved effectively all the manifestations of will."

Thus "the leader of Polish freethinkers." Anti-Semitism served as the common rallying-ground for Polish nationalists, whether conservative or progressive. The "destructive influence" of Jewish thought became in the Polish chauvinistic mind not merely an enemy, but the enemy of Polish integration. This fact has to be grasped before we can explain the development which made the Polish conservative party, the National Democrats, a staunch ally of Czarism as against the Russian liberals. Radicalism was considered more dangerous than Czaristic repression; conservatism more important than even national independence. The Polish National Democrats supported the Czaristic régime against the revolution of 1905, and one of them openly declared that "if the Government would only grant autonomy to a Greater Poland, including Lithuania, White Russia, and Ukraine, the Poles would undertake to butcher every revolutionist within that territory inside of three months."

Here we arrive at another aspect of Polish anti-Semitism. The Jews were considered a menace to Polish national unity not only because of their social radicalism, but also because of their centrifugal, separatistic attitude toward the idea of the historic Polish empire. As against the advocates of a Greater Poland, they unhesitatingly, almost unconsciously, sided with the Lithuanians and White Russians in the north and the Ukrainians in the south. An interesting sidelight is thrown on this phase of Jewish-Polish antagonism by the radically different attitude of the Hungarian Jews toward the national and territorial integrity of Hungary. In more than one respect a surprising analogy ex-

*Roman Dmowski: *The Decline of Conservative Thought in Poland* (Warsaw, 1914).

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ists between Magyar and Polish national evolution and characteristics. Above all, we find the oligarchic conception of liberty and the theory of super-race as the cloak of economic exploitation among the most important causes that contributed to the downfall both of historic Poland, at the end of the eighteenth century, and of historic Hungary only the other day. But whatever were the vices of the Magyar chauvinistic ruling class, religious intolerance was not one of them. This may be the reason for Jewish preponderance in Hungarian life throughout the last half-century, or it may be its result; probably it is, to some extent, both. At any rate, there have been no stauncher partisans of Magyar supremacy than the Hungarian Jews; and not only the financial upper class and the "intelligentsia" of the cities, but even the small and isolated Jewish trades people in the remotest villages. It has been said half-ironically but truthfully, of many communities in the Slovakland or Rumanian Transylvania, that the only Magyars to be found there were the village clerk, the teacher, and the Jew. The frequency of Magyar-Jewish intermarriage, and the extreme rarity of such intermarriage between Jews and Slovaks or Jews and Rumanians, is more than anything else evidence of the good feeling between Magyar and Jew.

That this relationship was not due exclusively to the opportunism of the Jews, to their undeniable tendency, fostered by centuries of precarious existence among hostile majorities, to side with the powers that be, but that it was brought about partly by the religious broadmindedness—perhaps to be called indifference—of the ruling Magyars, is suggested by the circumstance that in Poland the situation was and is just the reverse. Although there are many individual cases of Jews who have adopted the Polish language and Polish culture as their own, and although there is certainly no intrinsic preference on the part of Jews for one or other Gentile race as such, it may be stated as a general fact that separatist tendencies, Lithuanian and Ukrainian, count among their strongest supporters the Jewish element in the disputed territories. This is especially conspicuous in the case of a large number of Lithuanian Jews who are straightout Lithuanian nationalists, and even more so in the racial battle that has been waged in Galicia ever since the Ukrainian national revival about fifty years ago.

The most significant instance of Ukrainian-Jewish cooperation against the common Polish oppressor in Galicia occurred in 1907, when the first elections were held in the Austrian Empire under the newly-granted universal suffrage law. Wherever the Ukrainians were not strong enough to return their own men, they supported the Jewish candidate against the Polish nationalist. Thus the first two Zionist representatives in the Austrian Reichsrat, Gabel and Mahler, were actually elected by the votes of the Catholic Ukrainian peasants of Eastern Galicia!

The following anecdote illuminates better than a volume of statistical data the three-cornered racial struggle in that province of what once was the Hapsburg realm. In the course of the elections of 1907 Daszynski, the Polish Socialist leader and, by the way, one of the most fearless and thoroughgoing fighters against oppressive Polish landlordism, addressed a meeting at Lemberg and was heckled by a young Zionist in the audience. He retorted: "You are living here on Polish soil, eating Polish bread, warmed by a Polish sun; you have to talk like a Pole, think like a Pole, feel like a Pole—you have to be a Pole." "Pardon me, sir," came the quick rejoinder, "but it seems to me that your premise is altogether wrong. So far as I know this is Ukrainian, and not Polish soil."

It was reported that during the recent invasion of Eastern Galicia by troops of the new Polish Government the aggressors met with the joint resistance of Ukrainian and Zionist troops. This might have served as the particular occasion for the massacre by Poles of over a thousand Jewish noncombatants in Lemberg alone, as alleged by recent press dispatches.

In spite of the extreme bitterness that prevails in American Jewish circles against the only anti-Semitic attitude of most Polish leaders, not a voice has been raised among them against the restoration of Polish independence. On the contrary, the view is frequently expressed that the establishment of an independent Polish state is an indispensable premise of the solution of the Jewish problem. This attitude may be prompted partly by expediency; nevertheless, there is a great deal of truth in the saying of a Jewish writer that the Jews, and the Jews of Poland in particular, believed in the principle of self-determination of nations before the term itself was invented. But just as there is a general agreement among the Jews on the necessity of restoring Polish freedom, they are also unanimously opposed to the plan of a Polish empire as advocated by the nationalist extremists. The Jews realize that in a Polish state in which the inclusion of millions of Ukrainians and Lithuanians would create a nationality problem similar to that of the late Hungarian kingdom, they would be infinitely worse off than in the several independent national states, not only because of the necessarily reactionary complexion of such a Polish state, but also because they would be inevitably ground between the upper and nether millstones; because, as in the case of economic misrule, the loudest cry of the nationalistic quarrels would be the old and approved slogan: blame it all on the Jew!

The War Debts

By FRANCIS W. HIRST

IN the early stages of the war there was a large and respectable school of economists (or, as I would prefer to call them, economic sophists) who professed to hold that the only real losses in war are the property actually and physically destroyed and, of course, the men killed or maimed. The debt, they said, is a mere bookkeeper's account between different inhabitants, some losers, some gainers—new capital, as it were, on which the taxpayers pay interest to the fund-holders. Those who held this theory were naturally indifferent as to whether the war costs were defrayed from taxation or from borrowed money. The fallacies, often plausible and subtle, on which this comfortable error was founded deserve detailed exposure: Bastiat or Bagehot could have done it to perfection in a volume of sparkling essays. I must confine myself, however, to an attempt at some sort of a guess—there are no materials for an accurate estimate—regarding the financial position of the belligerent powers at say March 31, 1919, the end of the British financial year.

In August, 1914, the British deadweight debt was about £650,000,000. Mr. Bonar Law, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, estimated last summer that if the war continued, the national debt in March, 1919, would be £8,000,000,000. He calculated that on March 31, 1919, Russia, France, Italy, and the other Allies might owe Great Britain £1,632,000,000,

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of which he proposed for the time being to reckon only one-half as immediately recoverable. Adding to this the sums lent to the colonies and India's war contributions, he estimated that there would be £1,124,000,000 to be deducted from the gross debt. This would leave the national debt, by the end of March, 1919, at about £7,000,000,000, which total may be reduced by about £1,000,000,000 from amounts due by the Allies and the Dominions for goods and services, by arrears of excess profits duty which will be outstanding on March 31, 1919, and by other assets. These "other assets," according to Lord Inchcape, are the standard ships which have not been sunk or shaken to pieces; national factories, with their machinery suitable for munitions; "national" shipyards, for what they will be worth; and some derelict aerodromes, such as that at Loch Doon. "We shall also have timber suitable for firewood when the buildings in St. James's Park and elsewhere come to be demolished, together with that which envelops the statue of Charles I. in Trafalgar Square, to say nothing of the sand-bags and corrugated iron which protect the statue; but I would not set much store by what we are likely to secure by the salvage, or count on it going any long way to reduce the national debt."*

This would leave a net public obligation in March next of about £6,000,000,000. Interest on this, with a sinking fund, will require some £330,000,000 a year. The expenditure for administration and defence on a pre-war basis was £220,000,000, and the post-war expenditure, including education, will be much more unless armaments are severely reduced. Then there will be a heavy bill for war pensions: I should not be surprised if there were a million war pensioners, including 200,000 war widows. With a national debt of £6,000,000,000 it would not, in Lord Inchcape's view, be safe to assume that the annual expenditure of Great Britain will for a long time be less than £700,000,000—more than three times what it was before the war. Lord Inchcape is a first-rate authority, and I see no reason for regarding his forecast as unduly pessimistic.

France is in an even worse case. It is true that enormous profits have been made by the French out of the vast sums spent in France by Great Britain and America. But against that must be set the havoc wrought by war in northeastern France. Moreover, the losses of men have been appalling. Probably one-third of the young men of France have been killed or irretrievably injured. Before the war the dead-weight debt of France was heavier, both absolutely and relatively, than that of any other Great Power, and even in years of peace the tendency was for it to increase at a fairly rapid rate. Thus, it stood at about 20,000,000,000 francs in 1877, 24,000,000,000 in 1887, 25,000,000,000 in 1907, and 32,000,000,000 in 1914.

The Imperial debt of Germany was comparatively small—something over 5,000,000,000 marks before the war. Other belligerent debts before the war, in pounds sterling, were: Russia, about £930,000,000; Austria-Hungary, about £770,000,000; Italy, about £600,000,000; Japan, about £260,000,000; and the United States, about £210,000,000 ($1,061,000,000 on October 1, 1914). All these debts were considered good investments before the war. The German, Austrian, and Italian debts were mainly held at home and yielded, I think, from four to four and one-half per cent. in 1913. Russian credit was maintained mainly by the French peasants, but also, since the Anglo-Russian *entente*, by British investors. London was the chief external market for Japanese bonds.

The debts of the principal European belligerents will probably work out somewhat as follows in millions sterling: Great Britain, £6,000,000,000; Germany, £6,000,000,000; France, £6,000,000,000; Russia, £5,000,000,000; Austria-Hungary, £4,500,000,000; Italy, £2,500,000,000. These of course are round figures. Of these six countries only one, Great Britain, is at present paying interest and something more out of taxes, and only one other, Italy, has been paying interest on war debt out of taxes. Russia has repudiated. The increased revenue from war taxes in France, Germany, and Austria-Hungary has been quite inadequate. In all these countries part of the war revenue has been obtained by printing paper. Gold has entirely disappeared from the currency, even in Great Britain. In Russia, copper has disappeared, and I doubt if the purchasing power of the paper ruble is more than one-tenth of what it was before the war. All the belligerent currencies have depreciated in neutral markets.

After the war a great effort will doubtless be made to restore the exchange of the currencies. But, unfortunately, this process, if successful, will make the burden of the debts all the more insupportable. Suppose, for example, that the British debt has been contracted at five per cent. interest, with the pound worth only ten shillings, and suppose that in a year or two the pound regains its old purchasing power. This would mean that the people would have to pay ten per cent. to the fund-holders. No doubt the burden can be relieved gradually by conversions. But it is possible and even probable that, owing to the famine of capital after the war, the market rate of interest may rise all over the world to unprecedented heights. On the other hand, if the average rate of graduated income tax rose to ten shillings in the pound, the average fund-holder would be deprived automatically of half his interest, and the nominal debt charge would be reduced by half.

There are two questions in connection with the war debts which will have to be answered. The first is the amount of the indemnities. It seems practically certain, as I write, that the German Government will have to contract in the terms of peace to indemnify France and Belgium for the devastation wrought in the occupied territories. There is a certain moral satisfaction in the thought that the innocent people of Belgium will emerge from the war with less losses and better compensation than any other European belligerent. They have of course suffered far less proportionately in man power, and Belgium's burden of war debt will be much smaller than that of Great Britain or France. Thanks to Mr. Hoover's fine organization of Belgian relief, the health of the people during the war seems to have been, under the circumstances, wonderfully good. The most important part of the indemnity would be the physical return of the machinery, furniture, etc., which have been removed from French and Belgian territory into Germany. It is difficult to see how the money indemnity, on the other hand, will be paid. The printing, for example, of a sufficient number of million mark notes would not effect the purpose. And what about other indemnities? If we admit that the peasants and townsfolk are everywhere guiltless, how can we refuse compensation to the Poles for the frightful losses wrought in their country, especially during the Russian retreat of 1915? Similar considerations apply to Servia, Macedonia, Rumania,

*See Lord Inchcape's speech, House of Lords, Aug. 5, 1918.

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Transylvania, Saxony, the Baltic provinces, etc. My own suggestion is that each belligerent Power should agree in the treaty of peace to contribute the cost of one week or one month of the war for the purpose of compensating individual sufferers.

The other question is that of advances to the Allies, and especially concerns the United States and the United Kingdom. Owing to the fact that at the beginning of the war the British army was small, while at the same time the sea preserved us from invasion, the Allies very soon began to ask Great Britain for loans. Large financial demands had to be met from Italy and Rumania before those countries could be induced to join in the struggle. We have managed to keep our heads above water by an income tax graduated up to 50 per cent., whereas the French income tax has not risen above 25 per cent. A similar situation arose when the United States entered the war. The American army was very small, and for the first year the American contribution consisted almost entirely of money and food, although the country was all the while making great naval and military preparations.

The result is that an even larger part of the American war debt than of the British will consist of advances to the Allies. What is to be done? The British Government has already written off some of those advances as bad debts. During the Napoleonic wars almost every country and principality in Europe, except France, received loans and subsidies, as well as free grants of arms, munitions, clothing, and stores, from the British Government. So far as I can ascertain, in spite of the almost desperate financial condition in which Great Britain found itself in the years succeeding Waterloo, none of the advances made to the Allies in Europe were repaid, and, so far as I know, the British Government never made any claim for repayment, although it was urged to do so in 1798 by the first Marquis of Lansdowne, when he was urging upon the Government the adoption of a peace policy.

Should the American Government follow this precedent its burden, though heavy, will still be very small in comparison with that of France or Great Britain. With more than double the population and wealth of either of its two principal Allies, its total debt is not likely to be much more than half the British or the French. This means that the burden of interest will only be a quarter as heavy upon the American as upon the British and French people. What is even more important, of the young men upon whom the future depends, while France and Great Britain may have lost in killed and crippled one in three and one in four respectively, the United States will hardly have lost more than one in two hundred. In this respect the earning power of America will not have been appreciably affected, and the war pensions bill for widows and orphans and crippled or invalid soldiers will be insignificant. I notice that in the financial statement issued by Mr. McAdoo on May 31 last, the gross debt of the United States amounted to $12,875,000,000, and the net debt to $11,760,000,000. If the advances to the Allies are treated not as loans but as subsidies, and if the American army is not employed for a long period as an army of occupation, I should estimate that the total debt of the United States, when all accounts are liquidated and the country returns to a peace footing, will be somewhere between $17,500,000,000 and $20,000,000,000. The higher figure would be equivalent to £4,000,000,000, or two-thirds the estimated total debt of Great Britain or Germany.

The Establishment of the Provisional German Governments. II.

By CHARLES HENRY HUBERICH and RICHARD KING

A STATEMENT of the interrelations of the various organs of government is contained in a telegram of the Imperial Government, dated November 15, signed by Ebert and Haase and addressed to the Soldiers' Councils of Leipzig, Dresden, and Chemnitz (*Official Gazette*, November 16).

> The workmen's and soldiers' councils are recognized by the Government as the bearers of the revolutionary will of the people, and as a board of control over the entire administration of their respective districts. It must, however, be pointed out that an immediate interference in the administration of the technical bureaus is not permitted, because otherwise a lack of order and an imperilling of the common weal would result.

A more complete official statement of the relation of the workmen's and soldiers' councils to the Imperial Government is contained in the *Official Gazette* of November 23 (non-official part).

> The revolution has created a new public law. For the present period of transition, the new legal system is set forth in the following agreement between the Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council of Greater Berlin and the Council of People's Commissioners.
>
> 1. All political power is vested in the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils of the German Socialistic Republic. Their duty is to maintain and upbuild the results of the revolution and to repress the counter-revolution.
> 2. Until the assembly of the delegates to the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils has elected an executive committee of the German Republic, the Berlin Executive Committee exercises the functions of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council of the German Republic, acting in concert with the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils of Greater Berlin.
> 3. The appointment of the Council of People's Commissioners by the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils of Greater Berlin means the transfer of the executive power of the Republic.
> 4. The appointment and dismissal of members of the acting Cabinet of the Republic (and, until a final adjustment of State affairs, also of Prussia), is vested in the Central Executive Committee, in which is also placed the right of control.
> 5. The Executive Committee is to be consulted in reference to the appointment by the Cabinet of technical heads of ministries.

A storm of protest arose in various parts of Germany, notably in Bavaria and Hesse, against this assumption of power by the Berlin Council. The *Official Gazette* of November 22 (non-official part), contains the following:

> The Government of Hesse vigorously protests against the action of the Imperial Government in failing to recognize the individual States in the making of laws and ordinances. The Government of Hesse demands that under all circumstances there be an immediate convening of the national assembly. . . . We do not desire that in place of the Prussian military autocracy, now happily destroyed, there should arise an arbitrary Prussian dictatorship.

The communication of the Government of Hesse was answered by Ebert in the following terms (*Official Gazette*, November 25).

> By extending an invitation to the several States to a conference in Berlin, the Imperial Government has shown that it does not desire to eliminate the separate States, but, on the contrary, regards their coöperation in the restoration of the Empire as essential. The Imperial Government regards the national assembly as the most important means for attaining this end. The Imperial Government does not seek to establish the dictatorship of a city or of a Federal State, but only the solidary democracy of a unified Germany.

The legal position of the Workmen's and Soldier's Coun-

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cils of Greater Berlin is set forth in a manifesto of November 23 (*Official Gazette*, November 25).

To the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils of Germany.

Companions and Comrades:

A fortnight ago you opened a pathway to freedom. Your bravery and your revolutionary strength have destroyed the old régime, the military dictatorship, and mediæval monarchism.

It now devolves upon you to gather the fruits of the revolution. It is necessary now to repress the forces of the counter-revolutionaries who, after their first terror, are creeping forth from their hiding-places.

The Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils of Greater Berlin, in the storm and stress of the first days of the revolution, regards it as its task to create a Government of People's Commissioners to undertake the direction and administration in the new form of state in Germany and Prussia. The Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils of Greater Berlin does not assume to exercise any dictatorial powers over the workmen's and soldiers' councils of Germany. On the contrary, it believes that only by means of a close coöperation of all German workmen's and soldiers' councils can the gains of the revolution be rendered secure. Distrust and misunderstandings are threatening to drive a wedge into the structure of the German workmen's and soldiers' councils. Efforts are being made to split the Imperial territory and to reëstablish in a new form the miserable, mediæval system of small States. In order to realize the great democratic and socialistic ends, it is necessary to maintain a great German economic and linguistic territory. The Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils of Greater Berlin does not desire hostile separation between the North and the South. It desires that a free Germany shall be able to master the difficulties connected with the conclusion of peace; it desires that the demobilization shall be carried on in an orderly fashion, and that the dangers threatening the food supply of the people shall be overcome without friction.

The problems can be solved only by a harmonious combination of all workmen's and soldiers' councils of Germany. The activities heretofore exercised by the Executive Councils of Greater Berlin are provisional only, and are to be placed on a broader foundation as rapidly as possible. Until a legislative assembly has determined upon the constitution and arrangements of republican Germany, the workmen's and soldiers' councils must express the will of the German people.

We accordingly call upon you to attend an assembly of delegates at Berlin. Quick action is necessary. It is therefore impossible to propose a uniform and general system of elections. We recommend that delegates be elected by the workmen's and soldiers' councils as now existing, and that they be sent to Berlin. The assembly of delegates, in order to be capable of carrying on its work, should not exceed five hundred members. Upon the basis of the census of 1910, this means one delegate for each two hundred thousand of population. In the case of larger army units, one delegate is to be elected for each one hundred thousand men.

In order to reach a quick result, the elections must be held on a territorial basis. We recommend that in the election the proportions of the workmen and soldiers represented in the district be taken into consideration.

We suggest that the assembly of delegates convene not later than Monday, December 16, of the current year, in the assembly room of the Prussian House of Parliament in Berlin. The work of the assembly will be to elect the provisional central council of German Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, to determine upon a system of elections applicable to all German workmen's and soldiers' councils, to determine the future legislative assembly, and to express its views in reference to other political questions.

Companions! Comrades! Let us act promptly and in common accord. Accept our proposal and hold the elections as quickly as possible. You have brought forth the revolution. Let us enjoy its fruits in common. The exact determination of the basis of election will be published immediately.

Berlin, November 23, 1918

The Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council of Greater Berlin,

RICHARD MUELLER. MOLKENBUHR.

For the East Front,

BERGMANN. GEORG MAIER. SAAR.

On the same day the Executive Committee, Richard Müller and Molkenbuhr, issued a proclamation to the effect that its membership would be enlarged to include representatives from other portions of the Empire, who are to be given full powers where Imperial interests are involved (*Official Gazette*, November 25).

The Executive Committee of the Berlin Workmen's and Soldiers' Council is to be enlarged by the addition of members from the Empire to be elected by the representatives of the workmen's and soldiers' councils of the non-Prussian Federal States, who will assist in the determination of matters provisionally in the hands of the Berlin Council and affecting the whole territory of the Republic. The further regulations regarding the election of delegates and their allotment to the several States are to be determined by the conference of the delegates of the Federal States, already convoked.

The apportionment of representation was made in a proclamation of November 25 (*Official Gazette*, November 28). The total number of delegates to the assembly convoked for December 16 was 412, of whom 42 were to be elected by the larger army units. The remaining 370 were apportioned to the various States on the basis of population, but in such manner that each State has at least one representative. Among the larger representations were Saxony (28), Düsseldorf (19), Province of Hanover (18), Berlin, including the districts of Teltow, Beeskow, and Lower Barnim (17), Arnsberg (14), Oppeln (13), Württemberg (13), Baden (11), Potsdam (11), Breslau (11), Hesse (8).*

Further measures in regard to peasants' councils were recommended in the following manifesto of November 22 (*Official Gazette*, November 25).

To the Rural Population.

The proclamation calling upon you to form peasants' councils (local, communal, industrial committees, etc.) has been brought to your attention. In many places this appeal has been acted upon. It is expected that the entire rural population will devote itself promptly to this matter and coöperate for the good of the Fatherland. The work to be done by these bodies is manifold and its limits are not everywhere clearly recognized.

The undersigned associations give the following directions in reference to the activities which you are called upon to assume. We expect that in the interest of an unimpeded solution of the national food problem in the period of transition, all councils of peasants and agricultural laborers will act accordingly. As the name of these councils implies, the persons whose principal occupation is that of independent farming and the laborers are entitled to equal rights. The coöperation of the non-agricultural rural population is also earnestly desired.

A council of peasants and agricultural laborers is to be elected in each independent commune. In general, estate districts (Gutsbezirke) are to form part of a neighboring commune. Each council shall be made up of at least six persons elected in equal number from the ranks of persons principally engaged in independent farming, and from the ranks of laborers and of the non-agricultural rural population. Within the limits of each subordinate administrative district, a council of peasants and agricultural laborers is to be formed at the principal place of each district (Kreis), and in each department (Bezirk), etc. The undersigned associations constitute a Central Bureau of Peasants and Agricultural Laborers, with offices in Berlin, and will give directions and advice.

The work of the councils of peasants and agricultural laborers is to assist the competent authorities in the following manner:

1. By coöperation and advice in the gathering together and protection of available foodstuffs, in regulating its delivery to the proper officials, and in combating unauthorized dealing.

2. In preserving the agricultural industries and in promoting production, especially by securing a seed supply and increasing the acreage, by an increase of cattle herds, and by encouragement of the system of coöperative associations.

*The electoral districts are not always coextensive with the city or other political subdivision whose name they bear.

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3. Coöperation in the reception of demobilized soldiers and sailors and the procurement of work and housings for these persons, in accordance with the orders of the demobilization board.
4. Mutual assistance in the protection of persons and property.

COMRADES!

The exigencies of the time demand united effort for the preservation of national industries. All schism must be avoided. In view of the great problem, let everyone do his duty. The time peremptorily demands such action.

Reichsausschuss der deutschen Landwirtschaft.
Deutscher Landwirtschaftsrat.
Bund der Landwirte.
Vereinigung der deutschen Bauernvereine.
Deutscher Bauernbund.
Deutscher Landarbeiterverband.
Zentralverband der Forst-, Land-, und Weinbergsarbeiter Deutschlands.
Allgemeiner Schweizer-Bund für Deutschland.
Deutsche Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft.
Reichsverband der deutschen landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften.
Generalverband der deutschen Raiffeisen-Genossenschaften.
Bezugsvereinigung der deutschen Landwirte.
Hauptverband der landwirtschaftlichen Güterbeamten-Vereinigungen Deutschlands.
Verband der preussischen Landkreise.

The offices of the Central Bureau of Peasants and Agricultural Laborers is located at No. 19 Königgrätzerstrs., Berlin W. 9. All communications are to be sent to this address.

Proclamation!

The foregoing agreement of the agricultural associations comes into force upon the date of its promulgation. Peasants' councils (local, communal, and industrial committees, etc.) formed in accordance with other principles are to be reconstituted under elections held in accordance with the spirit of the foregoing agreement. In addition thereto, and by virtue of the Ordinance relating to War Measures for Securing the Food Supply, of May 22, 1916 (*Bulletin of Laws*, p. 401), the following regulations are enacted:

1. Elections to the two groups named in the agreement are to take place separately. All local residents of both sexes who, at the time of the election, have completed their twentieth year are entitled to vote.
2. The first electoral group is made up of persons principally engaged as independent farmers; the second group consists of the workmen and of the non-agricultural rural population, under which is embraced only such persons residing within the locality as are entirely or principally engaged in industries allied to agriculture.
3. The elections in both groups shall take place on the basis of universal, equal, secret, and direct suffrage. The time of election is to be made known at least forty-eight hours before holding the election.
4. The preparation for and conduct of the election are in charge of the principal communal officers (Gemeindevorstände).

By a proclamation of November 23 (*Official Gazette*, November 25), provision was made for the creation of councils in the larger industrial plants to safeguard the political and economic interests of the workmen and other employees.

In order to safeguard the political and economic interests of the workmen and employees, an industrial council is to be elected within industrial establishments.

The elections to the industrial council shall take place on the following basis:

In large industrial establishments, the election shall take place by departments, and each one hundred employees shall elect one member.

Establishments having five hundred employees or less shall elect not exceeding five members, depending upon the number of employees.

The industrial councils so elected shall, in addition to the duties set forth in Section 2, perform the duties heretofore devolving upon the committees of laborers. Substitutes shall be elected for all industrial councils. The elections shall take place under the control of the free trade unions.

Duties of the Industrial Councils

Acting in common with the management or directors of the establishments, the industrial councils are under obligation to regulate all questions relating to the laborers and employees. For this purpose they shall appoint certain of their members, without whose consent the management or the board of directors may make no determinations in the matters aforesaid. No other questions are subject to the right of control by the industrial councils.

Duties Devolving Jointly upon the Industrial Councils and the Trade Unions

In order to protect the economic interests of the laborers and employees, the industrial council shall reach an agreement with the free trade unions. The industrial councils may open negotiations with the management or the board of directors. The trade unions are to be promptly informed of these negotiations and are to receive reports thereon from time to time. If the negotiations of the industrial councils with the management or board of directors lead to differences, the trade unions must be consulted before the workmen may undertake further steps. The trade unions on their part must take the initiative in regulating general matters relating to the trade. They are under the control of the Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils of Greater Berlin.

General Principles

The socialization of industries may be taken up by the socialistic Government only in a systematic and organic manner after a consideration of all internal and external questions.

In order to prevent unemployment, no dismissals may take place until the hours of work have been reduced to four. The decrease in wages will be taken up by the Bureau for Non-Employment.

The industrial councils heretofore elected shall continue to exercise their functions until a new election of industrial councils has taken place. Regulations regarding the conduct of elections will be published shortly, as will also the regulations regarding the conduct of the elections of workmen's councils.

In accordance with the promise contained in the proclamation of November 12, an ordinance of November 22 (*Official Gazette*, November 25), extended from M. 2500 to M. 5000 the provisions of insurance against sickness. The eight-hour day promised on November 12 is decreed in the following ordinance of November 23 (*Official Gazette*, November 27), signed by Koeth for the Imperial Bureau for Economic Demobilization.

Under the authority of the decree of the Council of People's Commissioners concerning the establishment of an Imperial Bureau for Economic Demobilization (Demobilization Bureau), of November 12, 1918 (*Bulletin of Laws*, p. 1304), the following ordinance regarding the regulation of hours of labor of industrial laborers is enacted.

1. This ordinance relates to industrial laborers in all industrial establishments, including mining, and in the industries carried on by the Empire, the States, the communes, and the communal associations, even in cases where such industries are not carried on for the purpose of profit, and also to all industrial establishments accessory to agriculture.
2. The regular daily hours of work, exclusive of rest periods, may not exceed eight hours. If in derogation of this provision it is agreed that a reduction of the hours of labor shall take place on days preceding Sundays and holidays, such hours may be distributed over the other work days.
3. Agreements shall be entered into promptly between the managements and the associations of workmen in the transportation establishments, including the railway and telegraph administrations, regarding general exceptions to the foregoing provisions necessary under prevailing conditions. If such agreements are not entered into within two weeks, the right to make further regulations is reserved.
4. In industries whose nature is such that no interruption in work may take place, or where uninterrupted work is at present in the public interest, it may be provided, in order to bring about a regular weekly change of shift, that male laborers over sixteen years of age may, within a period of three weeks, be employed for one work period of not exceeding sixteen hours, including rest periods, provided that within such three-week period there be twice accorded an uninterrupted period of rest, each period amounting to twenty-four hours.
5. In derogation of the general provisions of the Law Relating to Industries (Gewerbeordnung), female workers

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over sixteen years of age, in industries working two or more shifts, may be employed until 10:00 P. M., provided that after the completion of the period of work there be accorded an uninterrupted rest period of at least sixteen hours. In these cases a half-hour rest period may be provided for instead of a one-hour mid-day rest, which must, however, be reckoned as part of the work period.

6. The foregoing provisions are not applicable to transitory work immediately necessary in emergency cases.

7. In an industrial establishment the nature of which does not permit an interruption of work, or whose uninterrupted maintenance is in the public interest, a regulation differing from the foregoing provisions may be sanctioned, subject to revocation, by the competent trade inspection officials (in mining work by the mine district officials), if the necessary number of competent workmen are not available. For this purpose a petition by the employer, and, if no agreement between the employer and the associations of employees has been entered into, a declaration of consent by the workmen's committee, or, if such committee does not exist, of the workmen in the establishment, is necessary.

If, in the aforementioned establishment, further agreements regarding exemptions from the limitations on work of industrial laborers are provided for in contracts between the employer and the unions of employees, the trade inspection officials or the mine district officials are empowered to authorize, subject to revocation, further exceptions to the provisions relating to the protection of workmen. The said officials must, after granting the consent, immediately notify the competent employment bureaus of the lack of labor in the particular industry. Consents given hereunder are to be notified to the demobilization commissioner having jurisdiction. This commissioner is empowered to demand from the aforementioned officials a revocation of their consents.

8. Where no regulation is made by the scale, the time of beginning and ending of the periods of labor and rest is to be fixed by the employer with the consent of the committee of laborers, or, if there is no committee, with the employees of the establishment, in conformity with the foregoing provisions, and is to be published by a notice posted in the establishment.

9. The supervision over the execution of the foregoing regulations is entrusted to the trade inspection officials and to the mine district officials. For this purpose they are empowered to act with the consent of workmen and in the presence of the employer or with either party alone, and for this purpose they may summon the committees of workmen.

10. (1) Persons acting in violation of the foregoing provisions, or of regulations made thereunder, are punishable by a fine not exceeding M. 2,000, or, in case of inability to pay, with imprisonment for not more than six months.

(2) If the defendant at the time of committing the offence had already been punished for a violation under subsection 1, he shall, if the offence was committed intentionally, be punished by a fine of from one hundred to three thousand marks, or with imprisonment for not exceeding six months.

11. The Imperial and State laws and the regulations made thereunder remain in force, in so far as they are not in conflict with the foregoing provisions.

12. This ordinance shall come into force on the day of its promulgation.

In order to prevent the transmission of securities to foreign countries, an ordinance of November 21 (*Official Gazette,* November 25), provided that securities might be sent to foreign countries only through banks. The prohibition, however, does not include currency, bank notes, bills of exchange, orders, and checks. Banks may transmit, on behalf of persons domiciled in foreign countries or for companies having their principal place of business in a foreign country, securities held for the accounts of such persons or sums on deposit to the credit of such persons, whether the credit be in domestic or foreign currency. The penalty for violation of the ordinance is a fine of not less than M.100 nor more than M.100,000 and confiscation of the securities involved.

An ordinance of November 26 (*Official Gazette,* November 28), provides that, pending the enactment of a law regulating aviation, the Imperial Ministry of the Interior may make regulations regarding that subject, and makes provision for the establishment of an Imperial Bureau of Aviation.

The development within the several States is similar to that of the Central Government. In Prussia, the only one to be treated here, a revolutionary Government was established on November 10, and on the 13th the Provisional Government issued the following manifesto (*Official Gazette,* November 14).

To the Prussian People

Like the German Empire and the other German Federal States, Prussia has by the will of the people become a free State. The problem to be solved by the new Prussian Government is to transform as rapidly as possible the old reactionary Prussia into a fully democratic part of a unified republic of the people.

The question as to the future internal arrangements of Prussia and its relations to the Empire, to the other States, and to foreign countries will be determined by a constitutional assembly, to be elected on the basis of equal suffrage for all men and women in accordance with the rules of proportional voting.

Until this constitutional assembly convenes, a provisional Government, having the confidence of the workmen's and soldiers' councils, has assumed control. The provisional Government regards as its first problem coöperation with the new Imperial Government in providing for the order and security of the country and the assurance of a food supply. In carrying out this object, it requires the goodwill of the population in general, and particularly the conscientious coöperation of all officials of the State and of the self-governing administrative divisions. All officials placing themselves at the disposal of the new Government are expressly confirmed in their rights and are to carry out the duties of their offices.

Of the many problems confronting the new free Prussia, now as in the future, the following deserve special mention:

The unrestricted right of assembly of all State employees and officials.

Thoroughgoing reform of the salaries and wages situation of officials and laborers, including persons on the pension list, and the granting of additional compensation, in view of the increased cost of living, until affairs are finally adjusted.

Development of educational institutions, especially of the common schools, and the creation of the unified school (Einheitschule). Emancipation of the schools from all church control. Separation of state and church.

Democratization of all administrative bodies. Abolition of estate districts.

Absolute equal rights of suffrage of both sexes in all governing bodies in municipal and rural communities. Like democratic change in the district and provincial administrative bodies.

Construction and development in the quickest possible manner of all means of transportation, especially railways and canals.

Modernization and development of industry and agriculture. Socialization of such large industrial and agricultural plants as are suitable for the purpose.

Change in the administration of law and the imposition of punishments, in conformity with the spirit of democracy and Socialism.

Reform of the entire system of taxation on the basis of strict social justice.

The new Government begins its labors in a serious and difficult time. The numerous problems confronting it are depressing. The human and economic forces of the country have become exhausted in the four years of frightful war. Only by united action of the entire people can destruction be averted. Only by such action can we repay those who are returning from the battlefield. We cannot repay them for their suffering and sacrifice, but we can at least prevent a continuance of these sufferings. Only in this manner can we banish the spectre of famine now threatening our wives, our children, and our sick.

That which we all desire, freedom, peace, and bread, can be assured only if the economic life in city and country is not impaired.

Therefore, stand together and help the common weal.

Berlin, November 13, 1918

The Prussian Government.

HIRSCH. STROEBEL. BRAUN. EUGEN ERNST. HAINISCH. ADOLF HOFFMANN.

In a telegram addressed by the Prussian Government to

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all Oberpräsidenten and Regierungspräsidenten (*Official Gazette*, November 14, non-official part), the purpose of the State Government to maintain the existing local governments is announced.

> In a number of municipalities the municipal councils and deputations have been abolished, and in their place organs of government created for carrying through the revolution have assumed control of affairs.
>
> Such action is contrary to the fundamental decrees of the new Central Government in the Empire and State. It jeopardizes in the highest degree the proper continuance of the food supply, the assistance of needy families, the care of the sick, and other communal affairs.
>
> It is clear that fundamental changes in the organization of the several communal administrations can take place only by a uniform legislative procedure. In view of the fact that yesterday the Council of People's Commissioners adopted a definite programme for elections to public bodies, the existing organization of all municipalities and other communal communities must remain in force until the new programme is carried out.

A proclamation of the same date (*Official Gazette*, November 16) makes the following announcement.

> The powers which, in accordance with former laws, were exercised by the Crown and by the Ministry of State are now vested in the Prussian Government, which, in accordance with the proclamation of November 12, 1918, has assumed the control of the state in Prussia.
>
> The powers of all other central authorities, as well as of provincial and local authorities, remain unaffected. These authorities shall hereafter bear title conforming to the changed conditions. For example, Ministry of the Interior; Oberpräsident; Regierungspräsident; Landrat; Ministry of Justice; Superior State Court; State Court; District Court, etc.
>
> The official seals are to be changed accordingly.

Another proclamation of the same date (*Official Gazette*, November 19) continued in force existing laws and ordinances.

> Attention is hereby called to the fact that existing laws and ordinances, except in so far as they are expressly abrogated by the Government, remain in force and must be obeyed by all persons. Accordingly, all persons remain in the undisturbed enjoyment of all rights under said enactments. All citizens, therefore, remain under the obligation to pay taxes and fees heretofore imposed.

By decrees of November 15 the Lower House of Parliament was dissolved and the Upper House abolished, and the Crown domains were taken over by the state (*Official Gazette*, November 15 and 16). Property not belonging to the Crown *fideicommissum*, but the private property of the King and of the royal family, was not affected by this order. By a subsequent decree (November 30) the administration of the private property of the Hohenzollern family was also assumed by the Prussian Ministry for Finance (*Official Gazette*, December 7).

The provisions in regard to the separation of church and state gave rise to strong protests, especially in the Rhine provinces. Cardinal von Hartmann lodged a formal protest against the action, and the Prussian Minister of Science, Art, and National Education denied that the separation of church and state would take place immediately, and promised that, if it should take place, the proper interests of the church and its adherents would be safeguarded. Clerical supervision of schools was abolished by a decree of the Ministry for Science, Art, and Education on November 27 (*Official Gazette*, November 29).

With the promulgation on November 23 of an ordinance (*Official Gazette*, November 30) granting to women the right to be elected as members of municipal councils, the establishment of the Provisional Government of Prussia may be regarded as established. Women so elected must possess the qualifications heretofore required of male members.

Documents

The Russian Land Law

THE following "Fundamental Law of Socialization of the Land" in Russia went into effect in September, 1918, replacing the earlier and briefer Land Decree of November 7, 1917.

DIVISION I.

General Provisions.

ARTICLE 1. All property rights in the land, treasures of the earth, waters, forests, and fundamental natural resources within the boundaries of the Russian Federated Soviet Republic are abolished.

ARTICLE 2. The land passes over to the use of the entire laboring population without any compensation, open or secret, to the former owners.

ARTICLE 3. The right to use the land belongs to those who till it by their own labor, with the exception of special cases covered by this decree.

ARTICLE 4. The right to use the land cannot be limited by sex, religion, nationality, or foreign citizenship.

ARTICLE 5. The sub-surface deposits, the forests, waters, and fundamental natural resources are at the disposition (according to their character) of the county, provincial, regional, and Federal Soviet powers and are under the control of the latter. The method of disposition and utilization of the sub-surface deposits, waters, and fundamental natural resources will be dealt with by a special decree.

ARTICLE 6. All private live stock and inventoried property of non-laboring homesteads pass over without indemnification to the disposition (in accordance with their character) of the land departments of the county, provincial, regional, and Federal Soviets.

ARTICLE 7. All homestead constructions mentioned in Article 6, as well as all agricultural appurtenances, pass over to the disposition (in accordance with their character) of the county, provincial, regional, and Federal Soviets without indemnification.

ARTICLE 8. All persons who are unable to work and who will be deprived of all means of subsistence by force of the decree socializing all lands, forests, inventoried property, etc., may receive a pension (for a lifetime or until the person becomes of age), upon the certification of the local courts and the land departments of the Soviet power, such as a soldier receives, until such time as the decree for the insurance of the incapacitated is issued.

ARTICLE 9. The apportionment of lands of agricultural value among the laboring people is under the jurisdiction of the Volostnoi [several villages], county, provincial, main, and Federal land departments of the Soviets in accordance with their character.

ARTICLE 10. The surplus lands are under the supervision, in every republic, of the land departments of the main and Federal Soviets.

ARTICLE 11. The land departments of the local and central Soviets are thus entrusted with the equitable apportionment of the land among the working agricultural population, and with the productive utilization of the natural resources. They also have the following duties:

(a) Creating favorable conditions for the development of the productive forces of the country by increasing the fertility of the land, improving agricultural technique, and, finally, raising the standard of agricultural knowledge among the laboring population.

(b) Creating a surplus fund of lands of agricultural value.

(c) Developing various branches of agricultural industry, such as gardening, cattle-breeding, dairying, etc.

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(d) Accelerating the transition from the old unproductive system of field cultivation to the new productive one (under various climates), by a proper distribution of the laboring population in various parts of the country.

(e) Developing collective homesteads in agriculture (in preference to individual homesteads) as the most profitable system of saving labor and material, with a view to passing on to Socialism.

ARTICLE 12. The apportionment of land among the laboring population is to be carried on on the basis of each one's ability to till it and in accordance with local conditions, so that the production and consumption standard may not compel some peasants to work beyond their strength; and at the same time it should give them sufficient means of subsistence.

ARTICLE 13. Personal labor is the general and fundamental source of the right to use the land for agricultural purposes. In addition, the organs of the Soviet power, with a view to raising the agricultural standard (by organizing model farms or experimental fields), are permitted to borrow from the surplus land fund (formerly belonging to the Crown, monasteries, ministers, or landowners) certain plots and to work them by labor paid by the state. Such labor is subject to the general rules of workmen's control.

ARTICLE 14. All citizens engaged in agricultural work are to be insured at the expense of the state against old age, sickness, or injuries which incapacitate them.

ARTICLE 15. All incapacitated agriculturists and the members of their families who are unable to work are to be cared for by the organs of the Soviet power.

ARTICLE 16. Every agricultural homestead is to be insured against fire, epidemics among cattle, poor crops, dry weather, hail, etc., by means of mutual Soviet insurance.

ARTICLE 17. Surplus profits, obtained on account of the natural fertility of the land or on account of its location near markets, are to be turned over for the benefit of social needs to the organs of the Soviet power.

ARTICLE 18. The trade in agricultural machinery and in seeds is monopolized by the organs of the Soviet power.

ARTICLE 19. The grain trade, internal as well as export, is to be a state monopoly.

DIVISION II.

Who Has the Right to Use the Land.

ARTICLE 20. Plots of land may be used in the Russian Federated Soviet Republic for the following social and private needs:

A. Cultural and educational:

1. The state, in the form of the organs of the Soviet power (Federal, regional, provincial, county, and rural).
2. Social organizations (under the control and by permission of the local Soviets).

B. For agricultural purposes:

3. Agricultural communities.
4. Agricultural associations.
5. Village organizations.
6. Individuals and families.

C. For construction purposes:

7. By the organs of the Soviet power.
8. By social organizations, individuals, and families (if the construction is not a means of obtaining profits).
9. By industrial, commercial, and transportation enterprises (by special permission and under the control of the Soviet power).

D. For constructing ways of communication:

10. By organs of the Soviet power (Federal, regional, provincial, county, and rural, according to the importance of the ways of communication).

DIVISION III.

The order in which land is apportioned.

ARTICLE 21. Land is given to those who wish to work it themselves for the benefit of the community and not for personal advantage.

ARTICLE 22. The following is the order in which land is given for personal agricultural needs:

1. To local agriculturists who have no land or a small amount of land, and to local agricultural workers (formerly hired), on an equal basis.
2. Agricultural emigrants who have come to a given locality after the issuance of the decree of socialization of the land.
3. Non-agricultural elements in the order of their registration at the land departments of the local Soviets.

Note: When arranging the order of the apportionment of land, preference is given to laboring agricultural associations over individual homesteads.

ARTICLE 23. For the purpose of gardening, fishing, cattle-breeding, or forestry, land is given on the following basis:

(1) land which cannot be tilled; (2) land which can be tilled, but which on account of its location is preferably to be used for other agricultural purposes.

ARTICLE 24. In rural districts, land is used for construction purposes in accordance with the decision of the local Soviets and the population.

In cities, land may be obtained in the order in which applications are filed with the respective local Soviets, if the construction planned does not threaten to harm the neighboring buildings and if it answers all other requirements of the building regulations.

Note: For the purpose of erecting social buildings, land is given regardless of the order in which applications are filed.

DIVISION IV.

The standard of agricultural production and consumption.

ARTICLE 25. The amount of land given to individual homesteads for agricultural purposes, with a view to obtaining means of subsistence, must not exceed the standard of agricultural production and consumption as determined on the basis indicated in the instruction given below.

Instruction for determining the production and consumption standard for the use of land of agricultural value.

1. The whole of agricultural Russia is divided into as many climatic sections as there are field cultivation systems historically in existence at the given agricultural period.

2. For every agricultural section a special production and consumption standard is set. Within the section the standard may be changed in accordance with the climate and the natural fertility of the land, also in accordance with its location (near a market or railway) and other conditions which are of great local importance.

3. For an exact determination of the standard of each section, it is necessary to take an all-Russian agricultural census in the near future.

Note: After the socialization of the land has been accomplished, it is necessary to survey it immediately and to determine its topography.

4. The apportionment of land on the production and consumption basis among the agricultural population is to be carried on gradually in various agricultural sections, according to regulations stated herein.

Note: Until the socialization of land is entirely accomplished, the relations of agriculturists will be regulated by the land departments of the Soviets in accordance with a special instruction.

5. For the determination of the production and consumption standard of a given climatic section, it is necessary to take the standard (an average agricultural homestead) of one of the counties of that section (or another agricultural standard of equal size) with a small population, and with such a proportion of various agricultural advantages, as, in the opinion of the local inhabitants (regional or provincial congress of the land departments of the Soviets) will be recognized as the most nor-

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mal, *i. e.*, the most favorable for the type of field cultivation which predominates in that climatic section.

6. For the determination of what an average agricultural homestead is, it is necessary to take into consideration only those lands which were actually in the possession of working peasants down to 1917, *i. e.*, lands bought by peasant organizations, associations, individuals, and entailed and rented lands.

7. Forests, sub-surface deposits, and waters are not to be considered in this determination.

8. Private lands which were never used for agricultural purposes, and which were actually in the possession of the state, private banks, monasteries, or land owners, will not be taken into consideration in this determination, as they will constitute the surplus land fund which will serve to supply the landless peasants and those who have less land than the peasants' production and consumption standard calls for.

9. For determining the entire amount of land which was in actual possession of the working peasants down to the revolution of 1917, it is necessary to determine its quantity according to its special character (field, pasture, meadow, drainage, gardens, orchards, estates).

10. This determination must be made in exact figures, as well as in the proportion of the entire quantity to each individual homestead, settlement, village, county, province, or region, or the entire climatic section of the given system of field cultivation.

11. When thus determining the entire quantity of land, it is necessary to determine the quality of each acre of a typical field or meadow by ascertaining the amount (in poods) of grain or hay yielded by an acre of land of the given section for the past ten years.

12. When determining the quantity and quality of land, it is necessary to determine at the same time the entire population of the given climatic section engaged in agriculture, and also that part of the population which subsists at the expense of agriculture.

13. The census of the inhabitants engaged in agricultural work is to be taken by sex, age, and family for each homestead separately, and later the information obtained is to be classified by villages, counties, and provinces of the given section.

14. When taking the census of the population it is necessary to determine the number of workingmen and members dependent on them, and for that purpose the entire population is divided into the following classes according to ages:

Those unable to work.

Girls	to 12 years of age.
Boys	to 12 years of age.
Men	from 60 years of age.
Women	from 50 years of age.

Those incapacitated by physical or mental illness are recorded separately.

[*Those able to work.*]

Men	from 18 to 60	1.0 unit of working strength
Women	from 18 to 50	0.8 " " " "
Boys	from 12 to 16	0.5 " " " "
Girls	from 12 to 16	0.5 " " " "
Boys	from 16 to 18	0.75 " " " "
Girls	from 16 to 18	0.6 " " " "

Note: These figures may be changed in accordance with climatic and customary conditions by decision of the appropriate organs of the Soviet power.

15. By dividing the number of acres by the number of working units, the number of acres to each unit may be obtained.

16. The number of incapacitated members to each working unit may be obtained by dividing the entire incapacitated element by the total of working units.

17. It is also necessary to describe and figure out the number of work animals and cattle that can be fed on one acre of land and with one working unit.

18. For determining what an average landowning peasant is in a county, it is necessary to ascertain the average acre in quality and fertility. This average is the sum of crops from various soils divided by the number of the soil categories [Paragraph 9?]

19. The average obtained as above is to serve as a basis for determining the production and consumption standard by which all the homesteads will be equalized from the surplus land fund.

Note: In case the average, as indicated above, obtained after preliminary calculations, proves insufficient for existence (see Division 1, Article 12), it may be increased from the surplus land fund.

20. For determining the amount of land needed for additional distribution among peasants, it is necessary to multiply the number of acres of land to each working unit in a county by the sum of agricultural working units of the given climatic section, and to subtract from the product the amount of land which the working population have on hand.

21. Further, upon ascertaining the number of acres of land (in figures and percentage according to character) which the surplus land fund has, and comparing this figure with the quantity of land necessary for additional distribution among peasants who have not sufficient land, the following is to be determined: is it possible to confine the emigration within the boundaries of the given climatic section? If so, it is necessary to determine the size of the surplus land fund and its capacity. If it is not possible to confine it within the given climatic section, ascertain how many families will have to emigrate to another section.

Note: The main land departments of the Soviet power must be informed of the quantity of surplus land, as well as of a lack of the same; and the location, amount, and kind of unoccupied lands must be indicated.

22. When additional distribution takes place, it is necessary to know the exact amount and quality of land which the peasants have, the number of cattle on hand, the number of members of the families, etc.

23. When additional distribution takes place in accordance with the production and consumption standard, this standard must be raised in the following cases:

(1) when the working strength of a family is overtaxed by the number of incapacitated members; (2) when the land which the family has on hand is not sufficiently fertile; (3) in accordance with the quality of such land of the surplus fund as is given to the peasant (the same applies to meadows).

25. When an additional apportionment of land takes place and the given district lacks certain advantages, the peasant gets a certain amount of land possessing other advantages.

DIVISION V.

Standard for the Utilization of Land for Construction, Agricultural, and Educational Purposes, etc.

ARTICLE 26. When land is apportioned for educational and industrial purposes and also for the erection of dwellings, for cattle breeding, and other agricultural needs (with the exception of field cultivation), the quantity of land to be apportioned shall be determined by the local Soviets in accordance with the needs of the individuals or organizations which ask permission to use the land.

DIVISION VI.

Emigration

ARTICLE 27. In case the surplus land fund in the given section proves to be insufficient for additional distribution among peasants, the surplus of the population may be transferred to another section where there is sufficient surplus land.

ARTICLE 28. Transfer from one section to another is to take place only after the peasants of the latter section are all distributed.

ARTICLE 29. The emigration from one section to another, as well as the distribution of the inhabitants within the section, must be carried on as follows: at first those who are furthest away from the surplus land fund are to emigrate, so that:

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(a) the land of the surplus fund is used first of all by the peasants of that village or hamlet in the vicinity of which the surplus land fund lies.

Note: If there are several such villages, preference is given to those that tilled the land before.

(b) the second place is given to the peasants of the *Volost* within the boundaries of which the surplus land lies.

(c) the third place is given to the peasants of the county within the boundaries of which the surplus lands lie.

(d) finally, if the given system of field cultivation covers several provinces, the peasants of the province within the boundaries of which the surplus land lies receive additional land.

ARTICLE 30. The emigration accordingly runs in the following order: (a) volunteers are the first to emigrate; (b) second, those organizations which suffer most from lack of land; (c) agricultural associations, communities, large families, and small families which have small amounts of land.

ARTICLE 31. The apportionment of land among agriculturists who have to emigrate is to be carried on as follows: in the first place, small families suffering from lack of land; second, large families suffering from lack of land; third, families suffering from lack of land; fourth, agricultural associations, and, finally, communities.

ARTICLE 32. The transfer of peasants from one section to another is to be done with consideration, so that the new place shall give the peasant a chance to cultivate land successfully and the climatic conditions shall be analogous to those of his previous domicile. In that case it is necessary to take into consideration the customs and nationality of the emigrants.

ARTICLE 33. The cost of transferring peasants to new places is to be provided by the state.

ARTICLE 34. In connection with the transfer, the state is to help the peasants in the building of homes, roads, drains, and wells, in obtaining agricultural machinery and artificial fertilizers, by creating artificial water systems (when necessary) and by erecting educational centres.

Note: For the purpose of expediting the establishment of agricultural work on a socialistic basis, the state offers to extend to the emigrants every aid necessary for a systematic and scientific management of collective homesteads.

DIVISION VII.

Form of Utilization of Land.

ARTICLE 35. The Russian Federated Soviet Republic, for the purpose of attaining Socialism, offers to extend aid (cultural and material) to the general tilling of land, giving preference to the communistic and coöperative homesteads over individual ones.

ARTICLE 36. Lands of coöperative and individual homesteads must, if possible, be in the same location.

DIVISION VIII.

Obtaining Rights to the Use of Land.

ARTICLE 37. Land may be obtained:

(a) For educational purposes.
  1. Social usefulness.
(b) For agricultural purposes.
  1. Personal labor.
(c) For building purposes.
  1. Social buildings.
  2. Dwellings.
  3. The necessity of conducting a working homestead.
(d) For the purpose of constructing ways of communication.
  1. Public necessity.

DIVISION IX.

The Order in Which the Right to Use the Land May be Obtained.

ARTICLE 38. An application must be filed with the land department of the Soviet power in whose jurisdiction the desired land lies.

ARTICLE 39. The application shows the order in which the permission to use the land is granted. The permission is granted on the basis of the general provisions of this decree.

Note: The application should contain the following information, in addition to the full name and address of the person who desires to use the land: former occupation, the purpose for which land is desired, the inventory on hand, the location of the desired plot and its size.

Note: If the land department of the *Volostnoi* Soviet refuses to grant the permission to use land, the question may be brought (within one week) to the notice of the department of the county Soviet; if the county Soviet refuses, it may be presented to the land department of the provincial Soviet within two weeks.

Note: The right to use land (sub-surface deposits, waters, forests, and fundamental natural resources) cannot be obtained under any circumstances through purchase, rental, inheritance, or any other private transaction.

DIVISION X.

ARTICLE 40. The right to use the land becomes effective in the following order.

ARTICLE 41. The right to use land for construction purposes becomes effective upon actual occupation of the plot or upon preparations for its occupation, but not later than three months after the receipt of permission from the local Soviet.

Note: By actual preparations is meant the delivery of building materials to the place of destination or the closing of a contract with workers.

ARTICLE 42. The right to use land for agricultural purposes (on the basis of personal labor) becomes effective upon beginning the work at the opening of the next agricultural season.

ARTICLE 43. The right to use the land for field cultivation becomes effective upon the actual beginning of field work (without hired help) at the opening of the agricultural season next after the receipt of a permit from the local Soviet.

Note: Buildings may be erected on plots of land that may be tilled only by special permission of the land department of the Soviet Government.

ARTICLE 44. In case of actual inability to use the plot in the period of time allowed by the land department, the latter may extend this period if there is valid cause, *i. e.*, the illness of the working hands, trouble brought about by epidemics, etc.

DIVISION XI.

Transfer of Right to Use Given Plots of Land.

ARTICLE 45. The right to use the land is not transferable.

ARTICLE 46. The right to use land may be obtained by anyone on the basis of this decree, and it cannot be transferred from one person to another.

DIVISION XII.

Temporary Cancellation of the Right to Use the Land.

ARTICLE 47. Any land-borrower's right to use the plot of land may be stopped for a certain length of time, without cancelling it entirely.

ARTICLE 48. Any land-borrower may cease utilizing the land at a certain time and still have the right to it (a) if natural calamities (floods, etc.) deprive him of the possibility; (b) if the agriculturist is temporarily ill; (c) if the agriculturist is called to do some government duty; or for other cause valid from the social point of view. He may hold it until such time as conditions are favorable for the utilization of his plot.

Note: The period of such temporary cessation is to be determined in each case by the land department of the local Soviet.

ARTICLE 49. Upon every temporary cessation of the use of the land (as indicated in Article 48), the local Soviet either organizes community help to the agriculturist or calls upon the workers, paid by the state and subject to the general regulations of workers' control, to do the work of the afflicted agriculturist (temporary incapacity, death, etc.), so as to save his property and proceed with production.

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DIVISION XIII.

Cessation of the Right to Use the Land.

ARTICLE 50. The right to use the land may cease for an entire agricultural unit, or for individual members of the same.

ARTICLE 51. The right of the given individual to use the land may cease for the whole plot or for a part of it.

ARTICLE 52. The right is cancelled (a) if the organization, or the purpose for which it had taken land, is declared void; (b) if units, associations, communities, etc., disintegrate; (c) if the individual finds it impossible to cultivate the field or do other agricultural work, and if at the same time the individual has other means of subsistence (for instance, a pension paid to the incapacitated); (d) upon the death of the individual, or when his civil rights are cancelled by the court.

ARTICLE 53. The right to use a plot of land ceases:

(a) in case of a formal refusal to use the plot;

(b) in case of obvious unwillingness to use the plot, although no formal refusal has been filed;

(c) in case the land is used for illegal purposes (*e. g.*, throwing garbage);

(d) in case the land is exploited by illegal means (*e. g.*, hiring land secretly);

(e) in case the use of the land by a given individual brings injury to his neighbor (*e. g.*, manufacture of chemicals).

Note: The land-borrower, upon cessation of his right to the use of the land, has the right to demand from the respective land departments of the Soviets a fee for the unused improvements and labor invested in the land, if the given plot did not bring him sufficient profit.

Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee:
Sverdloff.

Members of the Executive Body:
Spiridonova, Mouranoff, Zinoveiff, Oustinoff, Kamkoff, Lander, Skouloff, Volodarsky, Peterson, Natanson-Bobroff.

Secretaries of the Central Executive Committees:
Avanessoff, Smoliansky.

Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissaries:
V. Oulianoff (Lenin).

People's Commissar of Agriculture:
A. Kolegueff.

The Affair of the Russian Rubles

AT the closing session of the All-Colonial Soviet of Russian Organizations in the United States and Canada, held on January 9, at New York, the statement was reported to have been made that a member of the Russian Embassy at Washington had caused to be printed in this country, by a well-known bank note company, a large quantity of Russian ruble bills of various denominations, and that the bills had been sent to Russia for use in combating the revolution. Certain documents in support of the statement were read to the convention. The secretary of the company was reported by the New York *World* to have characterized the source of the information as "extremely unreliable," and to have declined "to go into private matters between his firm and clients, or to say whether such an order had been filled for the Russian Embassy." The documents which follow, reprinted, with the exception of the third, from the originals in the possession of the *Nation*, are those from which extracts were read at the convention.

No. 1

The official "Congressional Directory" (65th Congress, 2d Session) lists under Russia the name of "Mr. Serge Ughet, financial attaché, The Ritz-Carlton, New York."

New York, July 22, 8.

II/1325
F. W. Gullet, Esq.,
Asst. Manager Foreign Dept.,
American Bank Note Co.,
70-2 Broad Street,
New York.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge with thanks receipt of your letter dated the 16th inst., enclosing face and back models of 1, 3, 5 and 10 Rubles and 50 Copecks, which have my attention and in this connection I should like to learn regarding the prices you would make for the execution of said notes.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Yours very truly,
(Signed) S. Ughet
RUSSIAN FINANCIAL ATTACHE

Secretary (Signed) J. Jolkowski

JJ:AL

Correct
Secretary to the
Financial Section
Capt. A. W. Sobanski.

No. 2

New York, July 23, 8.

II/1339.
F. W. Gullett, Esq.,
Asst. Manager Foreign Department,
American Bank Note Co.,
70-2 Broad Street,
New York.

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 22nd inst., covering five specimens each of Roubles 25 and Roubles 100 notes, and in a sealed envelope a specimen of each denomination showing the marks on the face and backs of these notes and beg to thank you for same.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) S. Ughet
Russian Financial Attache.

JJ:AL

CORRECT
Secretary to the
Financial Section
Capt. A. W. Sobanski.

No. 3

The following letter is from a carbon copy of the original, and in consequence bears no signature. The stamp of the Supply Committee of the Russian Embassy at Washington, which appears on the letter above the address, is omitted here.

AMERICAN BANK NOTE COMPANY.
70-72 Broad Street,
July 16, 1918.
Received
July 17, 1918.

Serge Ughet, Esq.,
Financial Attache to the Russian Embassy
Room 901 Flatiron Bldg.,
New York.

Dear Sir:

RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT BANK NOTES.

We beg to hand you herewith models for a proposed issue of bank notes for your government, made up in accordance with

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our understanding of your instructions. You of course understand that our models are but rough ones and naturally do not look as well as the finished engraving will. If, after you have gone over them, there are any changes or corrections to be made, the writer will be very glad to call at your office for the purpose of taking up these changes with you.

We might explain that the colour in which we have shown our models are really only for the purpose of modeling and can be changed to suit your taste after the dies have been engraved.

We shall now await hearing something further from you, particularly, in regard to the quantities of the various denominations that will be wanted.

Trusting that our models will meet with your approval and that we shall be favored with your order, we remain

Yours very truly
Assistant Manager
Foreign Department.

Enclosures:—Face and back models
of 1, 3, 5, 10 roubles and 50 kopecks.

No. 4

The original of the following letter is in Russian.

60/ July 23rd, 8.
New York, No.11/1336.
Dear Sir,
Vladimir Vladimirovitch.

In accordance with your letter of July 16th, 1918, I have the honor of forwarding to you five copies of samples of new Russian bank notes of Roubles 25 and Roubles 100 denominations, which are being manufactured in America.

Accept, dear Sir, my assurances of respect and sincere faithfulness. (Signed) S. Ughet

To V. V.
Pushkareff.

Correct copy:
Secretary to the Financial Section
(Signed) Sobanski.

No. 5

The minimum quantities of notes mentioned in the following letter aggregate 79,500,000 rubles. The letter is endorsed: "Correct. Secretary to the Financial Section. Capt. A. W. Sobanski."

New York, Aug. 2, 8.

II/1470.
F. W. Gullett, Esq.
Asst. Manager Foreign Dept.,
American Bank Note Co.,
70-2 Broad Street,
New York.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 31st ult., and beg to thank you very kindly for your estimate of prices for the execution of the notes in the denomination of 50 Kopeks and Roubles 1, 3, 5 and 10, in variance according to the manner of the printing of same, as enumerated by you, made up similar to models which duly reached me and based on minimum quantities of at least 5,000,000 notes of each denomination.

I shall not fail to notify you about our decision in this matter as soon as I shall be in a position to do so, and should extremely appreciate it if in the meantime you would kindly let me know what length of time approximately will be required for the execution of 5 million of each denomination of these notes.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) S. Ughet
RUSSIAN FINANCIAL ATTACHE

JJ:AL

No. 6

The following telegram is type-written on a blank form of the Western Union Telegraph Company.

September 11, 1918.

RUSH RUSH
HONORABLE S. UGHET
RUSSIAN EMBASSY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
AMERICAN BANK NOTE COMPANY HANDED OVER ALL GOODS AS ORDERED TO AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY FOR SHIPMENT STOP NAME OF STEAMER YET UNKNOWN AS EXPORT LICENSE APPLIED FOR BUT NOT YET GRANTED
2299 JOLKOVSKI

In connection with the foregoing documents the following extract from a dispatch, printed in the New York *Evening World* of January 11, is of interest.

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 11.—Eight hundred cases of Russian currency, weighing approximately fifty-three tons, printed in New York, will be seized when it arrives here to-morrow on the Japanese freighter Tatsumo Maru, Customs officials say.

AMONG several interesting reports recently published by the British Government are two relating to the transport situation in Great Britain, prepared by a select committee appointed in August, 1918, "for the purpose of considering what steps, if any, it is desirable to take to develope and improve the internal facilities for transport . . . ; to secure effective supervision and coördination, and to ensure that such developments and improvements shall be adequate and suitable to meet the national requirements." A report of a committee appointed to investigate revolutionary conspiracies in India, together with two resolutions on the subject by the Government of India, has also appeared. The report was published in India in July, but through an oversight copies were not dispatched to England, and a reprint for publication was made in India in October. Students of Indian history and politics will find in the report, among other things, an historical account of revolutionary activities in India from 1893 to 1917. A collection of correspondence relating to "the wishes of the natives of the German colonies as to their future government" forms the substance of another recent report.

A COMPREHENSIVE presentation of the Balkan problem, and particularly of Bulgaria's relation to it, has been published, under the title of "Bulgaria and her Neighbors," by an anonymous writer, "Historicus." The study includes a historical survey of the relations between Serbia and Bulgaria before and after 1878, and discussions of the rival claims of those two countries to Macedonia, the attitude of the Macedonian Bulgarians, the relations of Greece, Rumania, and Russia to Bulgaria, the Greek claims to Macedonia, and the Balkan League and the wars of 1912-1913.

Contributors to this Issue

EUGENE S. BAGGER is a Hungarian journalist now connected with the New York *Tribune*.

FRANCIS W. HIRST is the editor of the London weekly *Common Sense*.

CHARLES HENRY HUBERICH is an international lawyer in New York, formerly professor of law in Leland Stanford, Jr., University.

RICHARD KING is a London solicitor, and the editor of *International Law Notes*.

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Foreign Press

The Allied Note to China

THE Asiatic News Agency, in a Peking dispatch, gives the following version of the contents of the joint Allied note said to have been delivered to the Chinese Foreign Office on October 29.

1. At the commencement of China's declaration of war against the Central Powers, the Allied Governments agreed to the postponement of the payment of the Boxer indemnity and other privileges in the hope that the Chinese Government would use the proceeds for the betterment of China's industry and economical conditions to the mutual advantage of both China and the Allied Powers; but, to the dissatisfaction of the Allies, it is reported that the proceeds have been squandered by certain high Government authorities for party strifes.

2. Although the War Participation Bureau has been established for some time in Peking, nevertheless it has done nothing to assist the Allies, and it is rumored that part of the troops who were originally trained for services in Europe have been misused for civil war in certain provinces of China.

3. Without the previous consultation or knowledge of the Allied Powers, the Chinese Government suddenly appointed Tai Chen-lin as China's representative to the Vatican.

4. The ineffective manner in which the Chinese Government have acted towards the liquidation of enemy properties in China is unsatisfactory to the Allies, as in the case of Deutsche-Asiatische Bank, etc.

5. The movements of enemy subjects in China are not effectively scrutinized by the Chinese Government authorities, so that dangerous Germans, such as Hanneken and others, are not interned up to the present time. It is said that the recent dispute between the American Mongolian Trading Company and General Tien Chung-yu of Chabar was also mentioned in this category.

6. The prohibition of Chinese subjects to trade with the enemies as promulgated by the last Cabinet was not carried out by China.

7. It was known to everybody that the Hotel de Nord was enemy property and it was used as headquarters of enemy subjects in North China for their unlawful conferences and activities against the Allied cause; that the Chinese Government did not do anything to close it until the matter had been many times brought to the notice of China by the Allied Legations in Peking. This is a strong witness that China does not intend to help the Allies to check German activities.

8. In spite of the protest of the Allied Legations, the Chinese Government has done nothing to punish the Taoyin of Neiho, Heilungkiang, on account of his pro-Bolshevik-German actions.

9. The lack of sincerity on the part of the Chinese Government authorities in conducting cases concerning Allied subjects and enemies and the arrested enemy subjects was quoted as an example, because China refuses to permit Allied consuls to act as witnesses in the court.

10. The enemy internment camps are not properly conducted, and in consequence many dangerous Germans are not interned at all. The action of the Chinese authorities in certain cases is quite unsatisfactory to the Allies.

11. Chinese bandits have been permitted to overrun the districts along the Tientsin-Pukow and Lunghai railways, so that Allied interests are suffering greatly on account of these bandit activities.

12. There is still ample time for China to do something to satisfy the Allied Powers, as one of the members of the Chinese Government will pay attention to the twelve points enumerated by the Allied representatives so as to gain for China equal rights of speech in the future peace conference in Europe.

Notes

DURING the recent British election Lady Rhondda, president of the Women's Industrial League, submitted to Mr. Lloyd George a memorial on the claims of women to freedom of employment. The memorial demanded the removal of artificial restrictions in regard to the fields of industry which women may enter, the establishment of an equal wage for equal output, and equality in education and industrial training. In putting forward these demands, the memorial declared, women "recognize that their own claim comes after the claims of two classes of men—the sailors and soldiers who have fought and won for us security and liberty, and the men of all-round skill by whom women were trained and helped." In response, Mr. Lloyd George promised that, limited only by its agreements with the trade unions in regard to certain industries, the Government would oppose restrictions on the employment or training of women and would support the principle of equal pay for equal output. To meet the demands of the reconstruction period, a women's branch of the demobilization and resettlement department of the Ministry of Labor is considering questions affecting the re-employment of women in their old occupations, and their training for new work. A Women's Trade Union Advisory Committee has also been formed by an enlargement of the committee which during the war advised the Ministry of Munitions. Through sub-committees this latter body will deal with various problems, such as the return of women to domestic service under conditions in accordance with modern industrial principles, the training of women for new industries, and the education of "war-brides and wives of soldiers and sailors in housewifery and infant welfare."

A MOVEMENT is on foot in England for the formation of a League of Religions to promote the cause of the world's peace. The initiative has come from some of the most active members of the Jewish Peace Society, who feel that, if the peace idea is to become part of the creed of humanity, there must be a united front on the part of all religious denominations urging and propagating it. A conference, to which representatives of various Christian as well as Jewish organizations were invited, was recently held, and decided that steps should be taken in this direction. The secretary of the movement is Miss Ethel Behrens, 75 Avenue Chambers, Vernon Place, Southampton Row, London, W. C.

THE Belgian Socialist Congress, held at Brussels during the last week in December, adopted a resolution proclaiming unswerving opposition to any imperialistic policy designed to prevent peoples from determining their own destinies. The people of Luxemburg, it declared, must themselves decide whether or not they wish to join another state, and, if so, with which they desire to be incorporated; and the inhabitants of the Walloon villages of Rhenish Prussia must decide whether to join a German republic or the Walloon populations of Belgium. The resolution also declared against any aggressive policy towards Holland, but urged that free navigation of the Scheldt and Meuse at all times and under all circumstances should be guaranteed to Belgium.

THE Swiss papers have been discussing the revision of the arrangements entered into in 1913 regarding the St. Gothard railway. When the Swiss Government purchased the railway, it assumed certain obligations of the company arising from the grant of subsidies by Germany and Italy for its construction, and by the convention of 1913 further bound itself to see that the railway was operated in a manner commensurate with its international importance. Italy and Germany, in turn, undertook to facilitate traffic between those two countries. It is now urged that since German and Italian traffic has been suspended

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for four years, while Switzerland has had to meet the resulting deficit, the convention is void. The provisions of the convention forbidding lower rates on any Alpine railway than those on the St. Gothard, and requiring the National Railways to give to German and Italian railways advantages at least equal to those accorded to any foreign railway, are also felt to be irksome. The feeling of the Swiss is further intensified by the fact that in 1909, when it was decided to nationalize the railways, it was learned that Germany had protested against such action eleven years before. The result of this revelation of secret diplomacy was a strong agitation for a constitutional amendment requiring a referendum on all treaties running for more than fifteen years. The *Journal de Genève* expresses the hope that the proposed amendment, which for political reasons has been laid aside during the war, may soon come up again for discussion.

MR. TAKE JONESCU, the Rumanian leader, who has been lecturing before the Paris Geographical Society, is reported to have pointed out that an increase of French influence would be the first result of a remaking of the Balkans map. The Allied victory will create a compact *bloc* of 50,000,000 Rumanians, Czecho-Slovaks, and Jugoslavs; and Rumania, with its central geographical position, must be the centre of French influence, which already predominates there, in order to protect the Balkan states against German intrigue. French, Mr. Jonescu declared, will replace German as the required foreign language in Rumanian schools, although English will also be required in certain subjects.

MISS MARY EDITH DURHAM, an authority on Balkan affairs, in a recent letter to the London *Daily News*, suggests that it is in the highest degree desirable that the origins of the war should be accurately and carefully traced. "It has been stated that the assassins of the Archduke Ferdinand, who were imprisoned at Sarajevo, are still alive. Is it not possible to bring them before a commission of judges selected from neutral countries, who shall carefully investigate the case, and prove who were the persons that planned the crime and used these two youths as their tools? It is even more important to trace the kindling of the first spark than to discover who blew upon it afterwards."

THE combination of separate Siberian coöperative societies into unions, and the combination of these unions into large central organizations, are described in a bulletin of the Union of Siberian Coöperative Unions. This central union was organized at Novonikolaievsk, in 1916, to "provide the population, with the aid of coöperative societies, with all kinds of goods, either wholesale or by self-production, and to sell all products of the farming or any other industry for the benefit of its members in Russia and abroad." The Union carries on investigations into the economic life of Siberia, furthers educational movements, and publishes an organ to spread propaganda in favor of coöperation. The capital owned by the Union on March 1, 1918, was 3,971,974 rubles, while the total capital of the smaller coöperative unions making up its membership amounted to more than 40,000,000 rubles. The annual turnover of the goods exchange of the member unions is over 1,000,000,000 rubles. In addition to offices in the industrial centres of Russia and Siberia, the Union has established, for the development of its foreign trade, agencies in London, Paris, New York, Shanghai, and Kobe.

IN view of the confused financial situation in Northern Russia, the British Treasury has established a ruble currency at a fixed rate of exchange of 40 rubles to the pound sterling. The Provisional Government of Northern Russia has acknowledged the new currency rate in a statement published in its *Official Gazette* and signed by N. V. Tschaikovsky, President of the Provisional Government, I. A. Kurakin, Director of the Finance Department, and P. V. Zubof, Secretary of the Provisional Government. Mr. E. M. Harvey, a British banker, has been appointed financial advisor to the Provisional Government.

INTERESTING light is thrown upon the political situation in South Africa by an address to the King recently adopted by the South African Congress, an organization of natives. Following an expression of satisfaction at the outcome of the war and the loyal aid given by South African natives, the address asks that the South Africa Act be so amended as to eliminate the color bar to the franchise, and thus give the vote to 6,000,000 natives. A request is made that Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland, as well as the conquered territories of German Southwest and East Africa, be not handed over to the Union without the consent of the native populations and the amendment of the South Africa Act. The address concludes with the request that, if the Union should decide in favor of a republican government, sanction be withheld by the Imperial Government unless the consent of a majority of the native populations of the Union and protectorates shall have been obtained.

BY a recent Order-in-Council the Canadian Government has established a Trade Commission, with headquarters at Ottawa, to act in conjunction with the Canadian Trade Mission in London "for the securing of a share of the business arising out of the reconstruction in France, Belgium, and other parts of Europe." The three members of the Commission are empowered to add associate or advisory members when necessary in order to establish closer connections with any industry or class of industries in Canada. The chief business of the Commission will be to "attend to the purchase of Canadian products on behalf of any other Government or Governmental agency, and to act in the distribution among Canadian producers of any contracts or orders for products of Canadian industries obtained through such channels."

AN elaborate programme has been announced for the commercial congress which is to be held at Montevideo, January 29-February 5, under the auspices of the Uraguayan Government. Questions of commercial education and expansion, particularly those connected with the trade and development of the American continents, will be discussed. Leading industrial and financial experts and directors of technical and commercial institutions have been appointed by the Government as delegates.

The
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Section

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